

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION—1928



AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 1928

The Presidential Election —1928

The Campaign for the Nominations

Work of the National Conventions

Party Platform Pledges

How the National Committees Operate

The Candidates Declare Themselves

Control of Campaign Expenses

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The Congressional Digest

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The Congressional Digest

August-September, 1928

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The Presidential Election - 1928

The Campaign for the Nomination
The National Conventions
The Platforms and Candidates
Speeches of Acceptance

How the National Committees Work
Campaign Expenditures
Qualifications of Voters
Electors and Electoral College

The Campaign for the Nomination



HE man finally chosen by his party to be its candidate for the Presidency almost invariably is a man who has held one or more important public offices and whose record is fairly well known to the American public in general. Usually he has been governor of his state or its representative in the United States Senate or House of Representatives or a member of a Presidential cabinet. In a majority of cases he has held a number of minor public offices before attaining a position sufficient to bring him national prominence.

Genesis of a Candidacy

Although it is often difficult to discover just when he first came to be considered "a Presidential possibility" the genesis of his march toward the party leadership as Presidential candidate, his first appearance in the charmed circle of "those being mentioned", usually follows some conspicuous event in his career, a sweeping election or re-election to the governorship of his state; his leadership to victory in the handling of some big controversial measure in one of

the Houses of Congress; his handling, as a governor, of some state problem that has a national bearing, a great speech delivered upon an occasion on which public interest is centered, or his handling of an important matter as an official of the Federal Government.

After an occasion of this sort his friends and admirers, either privately or publicly, or both, begin to mention his name as the candidate of his party in the next Presidential election. In other words, they launch for him what is known, in political language, as a "Presidential boom."

When Sentiment Crystallizes

When this sentiment crystallizes, the prospective candidate's friends usually form a sort of unofficial committee and begin in earnest the work of acquainting the country in general and the party leaders in particular with the merits of their candidate.

If, when the time comes to choose delegates to the national convention, they feel they have made headway, the campaigners see to it that their candidate's name is placed on

the ballot in those states where Presidential preference primaries are held. By this time the campaign for the nomination has reached a point where it is extremely important to obtain the choice of delegates pledged to the candidates.

The expert developers of a Presidential boom always have two objects in mind. One is to arouse popular sentiment in favor of their candidate. The other is to gain the support of the party organization leaders, Senators, Representatives, members of the national committee, members of state and county committees and all others who are part of the party machinery. They have to prove to these leaders that their man will not only be a good President, if nominated and elected, but that he will be a good vote-getter—that the rank and file of his party will go to the polls and cast their ballots for him. They must also convince the party leaders that their candidate is alive to party responsibilities and that he will, if elected, work in harmony with the party organization.

Pre-Convention Tactics

This is necessary because the political party system is well established in the United States and the election of a President and Congress is dependent to a large extent upon the operation of party machinery.

The pre-convention campaigning is usually carried on intensively for six months or more prior to the meeting of the national convention. The state Presidential preference primaries and state conventions for the selection of delegates to the conventions are held during the period between February and June of the election year.

This period is one of intense rivalry among the various candidates for the nomination. The results of the Presidential preference primaries are watched with the keenest interest and in those states which nominate delegates by convention the manager of the candidate always tries to have representatives at the state and district conventions in the hope of getting as many delegates as possible to pledge their support.

It is the custom in most states where there are no preference primaries to have the delegation go to the national convention uninstructed, but this does not deter the pre-convention campaigners from trying to line up members of the delegation for their favorite in advance.

With all the delegates to the national convention chosen, the battleground is then transferred to the convention itself.

The Call for the Convention

The national convention of each party meets every four years to nominate its candidates for President and Vice-President and to adopt a platform of the principles and policies on which the party's appeal for the support of the voters is to be based.

The convention assembles in response to a call issued by the national committee of the party, a permanent organization, which meets several months prior to the date of the convention. This call announces the date of the convention, the city in which the national committee decides it shall be held and the number of delegates each state and territory is entitled to under the party rules.

The national committees of the Republican and Democratic parties have for many years held their meetings in Washington. It is customary for the national committee of the party in power to hold its meeting first. Thus the Republican National Committee met in Washington on December 7, 1927, to issue its call for the 1928 convention and the Democratic National Committee met a month later, January 8, 1928. The party in power, also by custom, holds its national convention first.

The national committees of the two major parties are composed of a man and a woman from each of the states and territories. The committeemen and committeewomen in each party are chosen in various ways by the state party organizations, some being elected in party primaries, some being chosen by party conventions.

Apportionment of Delegates to 1928 National Conventions

States	Rep.	Dem.	States	Rep.	Dem.
Alabama	15	24	New York	90	90
Arizona	9	6	North Carolina	20	24
Arkansas	11	18	North Dakota	13	10
California	39	26	Ohio	51	48
Colorado	15	12	Oklahoma	20	20
Connecticut	17	14	Oregon	13	10
Delaware	9	6	Pennsylvania	79	76
Florida	10	12	Rhode Island	13	10
Georgia	16	28	South Carolina	11	18
Idaho	11	8	South Dakota	13	10
Illinois	61	58	Tennessee	19	24
Indiana	33	30	Texas	26	40
Iowa	29	26	Utah	11	8
Kansas	23	20	Vermont	11	8
Kentucky	29	26	Virginia	15	24
Louisiana	12	20	Washington	17	14
Maine	15	12	West Virginia	19	16
Maryland	19	16	Wisconsin	26	26
Massachusetts	39	36	Wyoming	9	6
Michigan	33	30	Alaska	2	6
Minnesota	27	24	District of Columbia	2	6
Mississippi	12	20	Hawaii	2	6
Missouri	39	36	Philippines	2	6
Montana	11	8	Porto Rico	2	6
Nebraska	19	16	Canal Zone	2	6
Nevada	9	6	Virgin Isles	2	3
New Hampshire	11	8			
New Jersey	31	28			
New Mexico	9	6			
				†1089	‡1100

†Republican votes necessary to nominate (majority), 545.

‡Democratic votes necessary to nominate (two-thirds), 733.

How Delegates to National Conventions Are Chosen

A majority of the states now have primary laws which provide for the expression of popular approval for Presidential nominations and for the election of delegates to the National Conventions. Other states have the state and district convention system. Some have a combination of both methods. The following articles describe the different systems in operation this year.—*Editor's Note.*

Presidential Primary Systems



THE first Presidential Preference Primary law was the "Oregon Act" of 1916. Prior to that, Wisconsin in 1905 passed a law electing delegates to the national convention at the primary, and Alabama in 1908 supported delegates to the Democratic National Convention by circulating a popular petition.

In the 1912 Presidential campaign there were 13 states that elected national delegates by the Oregon Presidential preference primary plan: Oregon, California, Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Wisconsin, while Ohio and Pennsylvania elected district delegates at the primary.

The high-water mark of Presidential primary states was in 1916, when 22 states used the primary to elect delegates to the national conventions. The above 13 states were joined by Montana, Iowa, Minnesota, Indiana, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Texas, Vermont and West Virginia. The Texas law was declared unconstitutional before it had a trial.

The 1924 Primaries

The 1916 campaign between Wilson and Hughes did not bring the Presidential primary into use. There was no primary contest in either of the two major parties. Minnesota and Iowa repealed their Presidential primary acts. The Vermont act was repealed in 1921. Alabama, also Texas, passed a Presidential primary law that was declared invalid by the Attorney General.

There were 19 Presidential primary states in 1924. Then by popular referendum Montana repealed its act. North Carolina repealed its act by legislation in 1927.

For 1928, Alabama Democrats employed their party option to elect Democratic delegates by primaries. In New York, district delegates are elected at primaries.

The only campaigns in which the Presidential primary has come into practical use were, first, 1912, when both major parties employed it in the preliminary stages of the campaign, and in 1920, when Republican candidates went before voters in a primary contest. In 1916 and in 1924 the Presidential primary figured in only a few states.

Mandatory Primaries

In 1928, 19 states elected delegates and alternates to the national conventions, but there are only 15 states where the Presidential primary law is mandatory on both major political parties, also provides for a direct vote on choice of President, and where the candidate for President files a declaration of candidacy either in person or through a voters' petition.

In Alabama and Florida, the State Central Committee of each party has the option of naming the method of calling a state primary to elect delegates to the national convention or choosing another method. The Democratic state committees declared for 1928 Presidential primaries, while the Republican committees of Alabama and Florida chose the convention method.

In Massachusetts and New Hampshire national conven-

tion delegates are elected at a general primary, and these delegates have the option of declaring their Presidential choice, with consent of the Presidential candidate, and of having the name of their Presidential choice printed on the ballot; but this preference method is optional and not mandatory. In New York the Congressional district delegates only are elected at primaries and a preference vote for President is optional.

Illinois Began 1928 Campaign

The Presidential campaign of 1928 may be said to have begun with the first filing of nomination papers. Thus the 1928 campaign officially began on February 10, in Illinois. That was the last filing day for nomination papers by candidates wishing their names printed on the ballots to be voted on at the Illinois primary, April 10. District delegates and alternates, 54 of each to be elected, filed nomination papers, February 20.

Close upon the heels of Illinois come Ohio and New Hampshire. Candidates for President and for convention delegates filed in these two states February 24.

In Ohio, the candidate for President files a declaration of candidacy. He files this declaration in person or by an authorized committee. But without this declaration filed with the Secretary of State, February 24, no candidate for President could have his name printed on the Ohio Presidential primary ballot, voted on April 24.

First Vote Cast in New Hampshire

The New Hampshire Presidential primary was the first one held in the 1928 campaign—March 13.

March 1, North Dakota and Michigan entered the 1928 campaign. That was the last filing day for nominating petitions of candidates for President desiring their names printed on the primary ballots of these two states.

North Dakota held its Presidential primary election March 20, just a week after New Hampshire.

Michigan held its Presidential primary election April 2. Delegates and alternates are elected by state convention, and the popular choice for President, as voted on April 2, is advisory, not mandatory, upon delegates.

March filing days for nominating petitions of candidates for President include: March 3, Wisconsin; March 5, Pennsylvania; March 8, Indiana; March 10, Nebraska; March 20, Massachusetts; March 22, South Dakota (new law); March 24, California.

April filing days for Presidential candidates were: April 1, New Jersey, by voter petition; April 13, Oregon, by declaration of candidate; April 21, Maryland, by declaration of candidate; April 29, West Virginia, by declaration.

April was a notable month in Presidential primary elections this year, as follows: April 2, Michigan; April 3, Wisconsin; April 10, Illinois and Nebraska; April 24, Massachusetts, Ohio and Pennsylvania. Likewise, New York elected district delegates—over 80 of the state delegation—at district primaries held April 3.

May Presidential primaries included: May 1, California; May 7, Maryland; May 8, Indiana; May 15, New Jersey; May 18, Oregon; May 22, South Dakota; May 29, West Virginia. Florida closed the list of Presidential primary states with a primary on June 5. Also Alabama elected Democratic delegates at primaries on May 8.

Indiana is an exception to other Presidential primary states in that the Indiana law requires a "majority" of votes cast at the primary to declare the state's Presidential preference. Indiana delegates are elected by state convention, but are governed by the primary preference vote.

Delegates are bound by the state's primary preference vote in California, Florida, Maryland, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota and Wisconsin.

Summary of Preference Primaries

In New Hampshire, Massachusetts and West Virginia, delegates are bound only by the preference they have declared in their nomination papers. In Illinois, Michigan, Nebraska and New Jersey, the Presidential preference voted by the party at the primaries is "advisory" to the delegates and alternates.

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Summarized, the Presidential primary elections occur in chronological order: March 13, New Hampshire; March 20, North Dakota; April 2, Michigan; April 3, Wisconsin; New York, April 3 (district delegates); April 10, Illinois and Nebraska; April 24, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania; May 1, California; May 7, Maryland; May 8, Indiana; May 8, Alabama; May 15, New Jersey; May 18, Oregon; May 22, South Dakota; May 29, West Virginia; June 5, Florida—19 Democratic and 17 Republican, including New York district primaries.

On the basis of the 1928 apportionment of delegates by states to the Republican National Convention, a total of 17* Presidential primary states elect 496 of the 1089 delegates that nominate the Republican candidate for President—or, a fraction over 45 per cent of the convention delegates, and 49 delegates less than the 545 votes necessary to nominate.

At the Democratic National Convention, on the basis of the 1928 apportionment of delegates, 19* Presidential primary states elect 480 of the total.

Over one-third of the national committeemen come from the Presidential primary states. In five states—Nebraska, North and South Dakota, Oregon and West Virginia—national committeemen are elected at the primaries, and in Pennsylvania the primary elects committeemen if the "party rules" so provide. In Florida and New Jersey the state committee names the national committeemen and in other Presidential primary states the primary-elected state delegates choose the national committeemen.

State Delegate Primaries

Presidential electors are chosen at state conventions, except in Florida, North and South Dakota and Oregon, where they are elected at the primaries.

State central committees are elected at the primary in Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, New Jersey, North and South Dakota, Ohio, Oregon and West Virginia, either by direct primary vote or pursuant thereto. In California, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New Hampshire and Wisconsin state committees are selected by state conventions, the delegates of which owe their seats to the primary. Michigan and Pennsylvania follow party rules in selecting state committees.

*In Alabama and Florida party primaries are subject to option of state committees. Only Democratic primaries are called in these states for 1928.

Selection of Delegates by State and District Conventions

Delegates to the Republican National Convention are elected at Presidential primaries in 17 states, as above enumerated, and at state conventions in other states.

Illinois elects delegates-at-large at state convention, and district delegates at primaries. New York elects district delegates at primaries, while delegates-at-large are named by the State Republican Committee. Indiana, Maryland and Michigan hold Presidential primaries to determine the state's party preference, but the delegates are elected at state convention.

State convention dates to elect delegates to National Republican Convention, June 12, 1928, and perform other party functions connected with the Presidential campaign, were as follows:

South Carolina, February 9; Louisiana, February 20; Georgia, March 3; Kansas, March 6; Iowa, March 7; New York, March 9; Virginia, March 17; Minnesota, March 24; Missouri, March 26; Maine, March 29; Kentucky, April 5; Rhode Island, April 9; Idaho, April 10; North Carolina, April 11; New Mexico, April 14; Colorado, April 16; Connecticut, April 17; Delaware, April 17; Mississippi, April 18; Illinois (fixed by law), April 20; Oklahoma, April 24; Nevada, April 24; Michigan, April 25; Arizona, April 28; Tennessee, May 2; Arkansas, May 3; Utah, May 4; Washington, May 5; Florida, May 10; Wyoming (fixed by law), May 14; Montana (date fixed by law), May 15; Alabama, May 16; Vermont, May 18;

Texas (date fixed by law), May 22; Maryland, May 20 and 25; Indiana, May 23 and 24.

In electing delegates to the Democratic National Convention, June 26, 1928, the party choice for President was voted at Presidential primaries, enumerated above, in 19 states.

In the states of Indiana, Maryland and Michigan the Presidential preference was voted at primaries, but the delegates were elected at state convention.

Illinois and New York district delegates were elected at primaries; delegates-at-large were elected in Illinois at state convention; and in New York were named by the State Committee; in 29 states all delegates were elected at state conventions or named by State Committees, as follows:

Louisiana, February 18; Philippine Islands, February 24; Missouri, February 28; Idaho, March 1; Minnesota, March 15; Georgia, March 17; Arkansas, March 22; Arizona, March 26; Maine, April 3; Utah, April 9; Oklahoma, April 10; Washington, April 13; Porto Rico, April 14; New York, April 17; Illinois, April 20; Rhode Island, April 23; Kansas, April 24; Iowa, April 26; Alaska, April 26; Connecticut, May 2; Delaware, May 8; Michigan, May 9; Tennessee, May 10; Nevada, May 11; Wyoming, May 14; Montana (date fixed by law), May 15; South Carolina, May 16; Colorado, May 19; New Mexico, May 19; Maryland, May 22; Texas, May 22; Vermont, May 22; Indiana, June 6 and 7; Kentucky, June 14; North Carolina, June 12; Virginia, June 21; Mississippi, June 5.

State Presidential Primary Laws

An Analysis of the Provisions of the Laws in Various States Governing the Selection of the Delegates to National Conventions

The principal requirements of Presidential primary acts by states are herewith summarized with regard to vital features:

Alabama.—Primaries in Alabama are optional with party executive committees for parties casting 20 per cent of total vote. Democratic party held a Presidential primary election May 8, 1928, to vote Presidential preference and elect delegates to national Democratic convention. The Republicans held a state convention.

Democratic state executive committee certifies names of Presidential candidates and names of candidates for delegate to Secretary of State 20 days before primary.

Congressmen and state officials are nominated at same primary election, May 8.

The California Law

California.—Presidential primary day for 1928, May 1. Last filing day for candidates for President and Vice-President and for delegates to national convention, March 24.

Candidate for President endorses group of delegates favoring his candidacy to get name on primary ballot. Candidates for delegate may file in groups and appear on the ballot under name of candidate for President to whom their convention votes are pledged.

The ballot also contains a "no preference" column for delegates who so prefer.

Delegates select alternates and national committeemen.

State convention, made up of primary nominees and primary-elected delegates, adopts platform, names Presidential electors and elects State Executive Committee.

Florida.—Presidential primary day for 1928, June 5. The primary is restricted to parties casting 30 per cent of the state vote, and subject to the option of the State Executive Committee.

Last filing day for candidates for President, May 5.

State Executive Committee names national committeemen.

State, Congressional and county committees are elected at primary.

Illinois Primary "Advisory"

Illinois.—Presidential primary day for 1928, April 10. Candidate for President and district delegates, voted on that day. Delegates and alternates-at-large, elected by state convention April 20.

Last filing day for candidates for President, February 10, and for district delegates, February 20. Candidates for President file a nominating petition with 3,000 to 5,000 signers.

The Presidential preference vote of the primary is "advisory" to all delegates as to the party choice for President. Delegates choose national committeemen. State committeemen are elected at primaries.

Indiana.—Presidential primary day for 1928, May 8. Last filing day for candidates for President is March 8. Candidate may file declaration of candidacy or voters' petition of 500 signers.

Delegates and alternates are elected by state convention. Delegates to the latter are elected by primary.

"Majority of votes cast" at the Presidential primary is necessary to bind delegates as to Presidential preference.

Delegates choose the national committeemen. Presidential electors are named at the state convention. State committeemen are elected by primary.

Indiana may have a "no preference" delegation, if no candidate or President gets a "majority" at the primary.

Maryland Law is Binding

Maryland.—Presidential primary day for 1928, May 7. Candidates for President file declarations of candidacy April 21.

Delegates to national convention are elected by state convention, but are bound by the primary vote as to Presidential preference.

National committeemen are selected by the delegates. State committeemen are elected by primary. Presidential electors are named by state convention.

Primary may also vote for "uninstructed delegation."

Massachusetts.—Presidential primary day for 1928, April 24. Candidates for President do not have their names printed on primary ballot, unless delegates file declaration of preference with written consent of such candidate.

Delegates file with Secretary of Commonwealth on March 20, and with election registrars and commissioners March 16. Delegates may file in groups for a given Presidential candidate whose name will appear on the ballot.

Committees and delegates are elected by primary. State convention names Presidential electors. Massachusetts may have a "no preference" delegation at the national convention.

Must Petition in Michigan

Michigan.—Presidential primary day for 1928, April 2. Last filing day for Presidential candidates, March 1 by a voters' petition of 5,000.

Delegates to national convention are elected at state convention. The primary preference vote is advisory to the delegates. Voters may vote Presidential preference or "no preference." Name of candidate can appear on only one ticket.

State convention elects state committee and names Presidential electors. National committeemen are chosen by delegates.

Nebraska.—Presidential primary for 1928, held April 10. Last filing day for Presidential candidates and delegates, by voters' petitions, March 10.

Candidates for President are not required to file declarations. Petitions of 1,000 voters place name on primary ballot. Delegates may or may not declare Presidential preference. The Presidential preference vote of the primary election is advisory.

National committeemen are elected at the primary. Presidential electors and state committees are chosen by the state convention, the delegates to which are selected at the primary.

New Hampshire Votes Early

New Hampshire.—Presidential primary day for 1928, March 13—the first primary of the 1928 campaign. Candidates for President need not file. Delegate candidates file February 24. They have the option of declaring their Presidential preference, and, if they so declare, the name of the Presidential candidate is printed on the primary ballot and voted upon. Delegates elected at the primary are bound by their declarations if their candidate gets the primary vote.

State convention, to which delegates are elected by primary, chooses Presidential electors and state committee. National committeemen are chosen by the elected delegates.

New Hampshire may declare for a candidate for President or send to the national convention a "no preference" delegation.

New Jersey's Vote "Advisory"

New Jersey.—Presidential primary day for 1928, May 15. Last filing day for Presidential candidates and delegates by voter petition, April 1. Presidential candidates are not required to file declarations. Delegates may or may not declare Presidential preference. The primary vote for candidates for President is advisory. New Jersey may vote "no preference," or elect a pledged group of delegates at option.

State committee, elected at the primary, names the national committeemen. State convention names the Presidential electors.

Names of candidates for President and Vice-President may be printed on ballot over delegate groups pledged to them and voted on as other candidates—if the candidate and his delegates so desire.

New York's District Primaries

New York.—In each of New York's 43 Congressional districts, the district delegates and alternates to the national conventions, elected by direct primary vote on April 3. Delegates-at-large are named by the State Central Committee.

North Dakota.—Presidential primary day for 1928, March 20—the second direct primary of the 1928 campaign. Last filing day for Presidential candidates and delegates, March 1—by petition of 1 per cent of the party vote.

Delegates are elected at the primary and file a declaration of their first and second choice for President. They are bound by the primary vote to support the candidate receiving the highest party vote.

National committeemen, state committee and Presidential electors are elected at the primary.

Ohio.—Presidential primary day in 1928, April 24. Last filing day for Presidential candidates and delegates was February 24.

Candidates for President must file declaration of candidacy, either in person or by authorized representatives. Delegates are bound by the primary result as to Presidential preference.

National committeemen are chosen by the delegates. State committee is elected at the primary, as are the delegates to the state convention.

The Famous Oregon Law

Oregon.—Presidential primary day in 1928, May 18. Last filing day for Presidential candidates and delegates, April 13. Candidate for President must declare candidacy to get name on primary ballot—by filing either in person or by authorized representatives. Delegates are bound by the primary result. National committeemen, state committee and Presidential electors are elected at the primary.

Pennsylvania.—Presidential primary day for 1928, May 18. Last filing day for Presidential candidates and delegates, March 5, by petition of voters. Delegates are not required to file declaration of preference for President, but, if they do, they are bound by their declaration. National committeemen and state committee are voted on at the primary—if the "party rules" so provide.

The nominee for President names the Presidential electors.

South Dakota's "Proposalmen"

South Dakota.—Presidential primary election for 1928, postponed by the new 1927 act to May 22. Filing day for Presidential candidates and delegates, March 22.

Declaration of candidacy and of paramount issue is mandatory to get name on primary ballot. The primary returns are mandatory upon delegates to the national convention. National committeemen, State Committee and Presidential electors are elected at the primary.

South Dakota has the unique feature of "proposal meetings" and election of "proposalmen" prior to the primary. The first "proposalmen" election is the precinct election February 14.

West Virginia.—Presidential primary day for 1928, May 29. Last filing day for candidates for President and delegates, April 19.

Presidential candidates must declare candidacy to get names on primary ballot. Delegates file declaration whether they will or will not obey the primary mandate as to Presidential preference.

National committeemen and State Committee are elected at primary. State convention names the Presidential electors.

Wisconsin's Declarations

Wisconsin.—Presidential primary day for 1928, April 3. Last filing day for nominating petitions for Presidential candidates and delegates, March 3.

Delegates file declarations of their choice for President. Names of candidates for President may be printed on ballot over names of delegates declaring for them, and be voted on as other candidates for office.

Primary vote is binding on delegates at national convention. State convention, the delegates to which are elected at the primary, select Presidential electors and the State Committee. Delegates to national convention choose national committeemen.

The National Conventions in Action

Assembling of the Delegates — Presentation of Credentials — Temporary and Permanent Officers

Adoption of the Platform — Presentation of the Candidates — The Ballotting — The Nominations



THE purpose of the national convention is threefold. It formulates the principles of the party into a platform on which the appeal is made to the voters during the ensuing campaign. It nominates candidates for the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency, and appoints committees charged with carrying on the campaign and acting for the party for four years—until the next national convention is held.

The Organization of the Convention

The convention is called to order by the chairman of the national committee, and before any business is transacted, prayer is usually offered. Clergymen from different congregations are chosen for the several sessions, so as to avoid offending religious susceptibilities. The first business is the reading of the call for the national convention by the secretary of the committee, and the chairman then puts in nomination the temporary officers, who have been selected by the committee before the meeting. Usually these nominations are accepted without question, for the business of the temporary organization is largely formal. The temporary chairman, it is true, makes an address appropriate to the occasion, which is often regarded as the "keynote" to the proceedings, but he is not called upon to make any important decisions from the chair which may affect either the platform of the party or its nomination. When the temporary officers are duly installed and the speech of the chairman is delivered, the rules of the previous convention are adopted until the permanent organization is effected. The first day's session is then concluded by calling the roll of the states and territories, each one of which appoints one member for each of four great committees of the convention: the committee on credentials, the committee on permanent organization, the committee on rules and order of business, and the committee on resolutions or platform.

After the second session of the convention is called to order by the temporary chairman, the reports of the various committees are heard, not necessarily in any fixed order.

The Committee on Credentials

The committee on credentials is charged with the important work of deciding questions of contested seats. All notices of contests between delegations are filed in advance with the national committee which makes up the temporary roll. These documents relative to the several disputes are passed on to the credentials committee, which holds meetings and prepares reports for the convention. Sometimes these contests are very exciting; for the policy of the party on national issues and the fate of candidates may be decided by the admission or rejection of certain delegations. Generally speaking, however, the report of the majority of the committee on credentials is accepted by the convention.

The Committee on Permanent Organization

The next important report is that of the committee on permanent organization, which names the permanent chairman, the secretary, and other officers of the convention. This report is also generally approved without debate, although, of course, the convention may, if it sees fit, refuse to accept the nominees of the committee. The permanent chairman is duly installed, makes a long speech, and is presented with a gavel. The rules under which he controls the assembly are reported by the committee on rules, and are, in principle, those of the House of Representatives with some modifications. The chairman is constantly called upon to decide points of order of a highly technical nature; he must prevent the convention, which sometimes bursts out into storms of applause lasting more than an hour, from degenerating entirely into an uncontrolled mob; he is often compelled to choose from among five or ten speakers trying to get the floor at the same time; and it is, therefore, important that he should be master of the rules of procedure, and capable of prompt and firm decision.

Adopting the Platform

On the second or third day, the convention is ready for the report of the committee on resolutions, which is charged with drafting the platform. This committee begins its sessions immediately after its appointment, and usually agrees on a unanimous report. The report of the committee on resolutions seldom meets opposition in the convention, for care is taken by the committee to placate all elements. After the adoption of the platform, the new national committee is chosen.

Presentation of Candidates

About the third or fourth day, the chairman announces that the next order of business is the calling of the roll of the states for the presentation of names of the candidates for President of the United States, and the roll is called in alphabetical order beginning with Alabama. If a state has no candidate to present, it may defer to another further down on the list. A representative of the state which is thus named thereupon places a candidate in nomination, in a formal speech. The first speech may be followed by speeches seconding the nomination, from the representatives of various delegations scattered over the House, if the chairman sees fit to recognize them. The nominations may be closed without calling the full roll of the states, or the calling of the roll may be resumed and each state heard from, as it is reached in regular order.

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Pledges of Republican and Democratic Parties

As Set Forth in their 1928 Platforms

Editor's Note: In order to include commitments on all subjects covered by the platforms, lack of space prevented including denunciations and arguments.

REPUBLICAN



THE Republican Party in national convention assembled presents to the people of the Nation this platform of its principles, based on a record of its accomplishments, and asks and awaits a new vote of confidence. We reaffirm our devotion to the Constitution of the United States and principles and institution of the American system of representative government.

No better guarantee of prosperity and contentment among all our people can be given than the pledge to maintain and continue the Coolidge policies. This promise we give and will faithfully perform.

Under this Administration the country has been lifted from the depths of a great depression to a level of prosperity. Economy has been raised to the dignity of a principle of government. A standard of character in public service has been established under the Chief Executive, which has given to the people of the country a feeling of stability and confidence so all have felt encouraged to proceed on new undertakings in trade and commerce.

The record of the present Administration is a guarantee of what may be expected of the next. Our words have been made deeds. We offer no promises but accomplishments.

Foreign Relations

A foreign policy based on the traditional American position and carried on with vision and steadfastness has extended American influence throughout the world and everywhere promoted and protected American interests.

The Administration has concluded arbitration treaties in a form more definite and more inclusive than ever before and plans to negotiate similar treaties with all countries willing in this manner to define their policy peacefully to settle justiciable disputes.

We endorse the resolution of the sixth Pan-American conference held at Havana, Cuba, in 1928, which called a conference on arbitration and conciliation to meet in Washington during the year.

We shall continue to demand the same respect and protection for the persons and property of American citizens in foreign countries that we cheerfully accord in this country to the persons and property of aliens.

The commercial treaties which we have negotiated and those still in the process of negotiation are based on strict justice among nations, equal opportunity for trade and commerce on the most-favored-nation principle and are simplified so as to eliminate the danger of misunderstandings.

The Republican Party will continue to support American rights in Mexico, as elsewhere in the world, and at the same time to promote and strengthen friendship and confidence.

We pledge ourselves to round out and maintain the navy in all types of combatant ships to the full ratio provided for the United States by the Washington Treaty for the limitation of naval armament and any amendment thereto.

The country demands that should the United States ever again be called upon to defend itself by arms, the President be empowered to draft such material resources and such services and essential commodities, whether utilized in actual warfare or private activity.

In accordance with our settled policy and platform pledges, debt settlement agreements have been negotiated with all of our foreign debtors with the exception of Armenia and Russia. That with France remains as yet unratified. Those with Greece and Austria are before the Congress for necessary authority. If the French debt settlement be included, the total amount funded is \$11,522,354,000. We have steadfastly opposed and will continue to oppose cancellation of foreign debts.

We believe that the settlements agreed to are fair to both the debtor nation and to the American taxpayer.

Under the act approved by the President on March 10, 1928, a provision was made for the settlement of war claims of the United States and its citizens against the German-Austrian and Hungarian Governments and of the claims of the nationals of these Governments against the United States, and for the return to its owners of the property seized by the Alien Property Custodian during the

Continued on next page

DEMOCRATIC



E, the Democratic Party in convention assembled, pause to pay our tribute of love and respect to the memory of him who in his life and in his official actions voiced the hopes and aspirations of all good men and women of every race and clime, the former President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. His spirit moves on and his example and deeds will exalt those who come after us as they have inspired us.

We are grateful that we were privileged to work with him and again pay tribute to his high ideals and accomplishments.

We reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government formulated by Jefferson and enforced by a long and illustrious line of Democratic Presidents.

We hold that government must function not to centralize our wealth, but to preserve equal opportunity so that all may share in our priceless resources; and not confine prosperity to a favored few. We, therefore, pledge the Democratic Party to encourage business, small and great alike; to conserve human happiness and liberty; to break the shackles of monopoly and free business of the Nation; to respond to popular will.

Foreign Relations

We declare for a constructive foreign policy based on these principles:

Outlawry of war and an abhorrence of militarism, conquest and imperialism.

Freedom from entangling political alliances with foreign nations. Protection of American lives and rights.

Noninterference with the elections or other internal political affairs of any foreign nation. This principle of noninterference extends to Mexico, Nicaragua and all other Latin-American Nations.

Rescue of our country from its present impaired world standing and restoration to its former position as a leader in the movement for international arbitration, conciliation, conference and limitation of armament by international agreement.

International agreements for reduction of all armaments, and the end of competitive war preparations, and, in the meantime, the maintenance of an army and navy adequate for national defense.

Full, free and open co-operation with all other nations for the promotion of peace and justice.

In our foreign relations this country should stand as a unit, and to be successful, foreign policies must have the approval and the support of the American people.

Abolition of the practice of the President of entering into and carrying out agreements with a foreign Government, either de facto or de jure, for the protection of such Government against revolution or foreign attack, or for the supervision of its internal affairs, when such agreements have not been advised and consented to by the Senate, as provided in the Constitution.

Recognition that the Monroe Doctrine is a cardinal principle of this Government promulgated for the protection of ourselves and our Latin-American neighbors.

We favor the most earnest efforts on the part of the United States to secure the fulfillment of the promises and engagements made by the United States and the Allied Powers to Armenia.

Taxation

The Federal Reserve System must be administered for the benefit of farmers, wage earners, merchants, manufacturers and others engaged in constructive business.

The Democratic Party avows its belief in the fiscal policy inaugurated by the past Democratic Administration, which has provided a sinking fund sufficient to extinguish the Nation's indebtedness within a reasonable period of time, without harassing the present and next succeeding generations with tax burdens. Taxes levied beyond the actual requirements of the legally-established sinking fund are but an added burden upon the American people, and the surplus thus accumulated is an incentive to increasingly extravagant expenditures. We, therefore, favor further reduction of the internal taxes of the people.

Continued on next page

REPUBLICAN—Continued

war, in accordance with our traditional policy for respect of private property.

We approve the foreign policies of the Administration of President Coolidge. We indorse the proposal of the Secretary of State for a multi-lateral treaty proposed to the principal Powers of the world and open to the signatures of all nations, to renounce war as an instrument of national policy and declaring in favor of pacific settlement of international disputes, the first step in outlawing war.

This Government has definitely refused membership in the League of Nations and to assume any obligations under the Covenant of the League.

We have most usefully assisted by co-operation in the humanitarian and technical work undertaken by the League, without involving ourselves in European politics by accepting membership.

The Republican Party has always given and will continue to give its support to the development of American foreign trade, which makes for domestic prosperity.

The Republican Party pledges itself to aid and assist in the perfection of principles of international law and the settlement of international disputes.

There has always been, as there always will be, a firm friendship with Canada. The recent exchange of diplomatic officers between the two countries is worthy of commendation.

The United States has an especial interest in the advancement and progress of all the Latin-American countries. The marines now in Nicaragua are there to protect American lives and property and to aid in carrying out an agreement whereby we have undertaken to do what we can to restore and maintain order and to insure a fair and free election.

We have avoided interference in the internal affairs of China, merely keeping sufficient naval and military forces in China to protect the lives of the Americans who are there on legitimate business and in still larger numbers for nobly humanitarian reasons. We shall always be glad to be of assistance to China when our duty is clear.

Taxation

If we are able to spend wisely, it is first necessary that we save wisely. We commend President Coolidge for his establishment of this fundamental principle of sound administration and pledge ourselves to live up to the high standard he has set.

The record of the United States Treasury under Secretary Mellon stands unrivaled and unsurpassed.

In 1921 the credit of our Government was at low ebb. We were burdened with a huge public debt, a load of war taxes which in variety and weight exceeded anything in our national life, while vast unfounded intergovernmental debts disorganized the economic life of the debtor nations and seriously affected our own by reason of the serious obstacles which they presented to commercial intercourse.

In seven years the public debt has been reduced by \$6,411,000,000. From March, 1921, to September, 1928, more than \$11,000,000,000 of securities bearing high rates of interest will have been retired or refunded into securities bearing a low rate of interest, while Liberty Bonds, which were selling below par, now command a premium.

These operations have resulted in an annual savings in interest charges of not less than \$275,000,000, without which the most recent tax-reduction measure would not have been made possible.

The Republican Party will continue to reduce our national debt as rapidly as possible and in accordance with the provision of existing laws and the present program.

Wise administrative management under Republican control and direction has made possible a reduction of more than a billion, eight hundred million dollars a year in the tax bill of the American people. Four separate tax-reduction measures have been enacted, and millions of those least able to pay have been taken from the tax rolls.

Excessive and unbecoming rates have been radically modified, releasing for industrial and payroll expansion and development great sums of money which formerly were paid in taxes to the Federal Government.

Virtually all of the war taxes have been eliminated and our tax system has been definitely restored to a peacetime basis.

We pledge our party to a continuation of these sound policies and to such further reduction of the tax burden as the condition of the Treasury may from time to time permit.

Tariff

We reaffirm our belief in the protective tariff as a fundamental and essential principle of the economic life of this Nation. Adher-

Continued on next page

DEMOCRATIC—Continued

The Democratic Party stands for efficiency and economy in the administration of public affairs, and we pledge:

Businesslike reorganization of all the departments of the Government.

Elimination of duplication, waste and overlapping.

Substitution of modern businesslike methods for existing obsolete and antiquated conditions.

Tariff

The Democratic tariff legislation will be based on the following policies:

The maintenance of legitimate business and a high standard of wages for American labor.

Increasing the purchasing power of wages and income by the reduction of those monopolistic and extortionate tariff rates bestowed in payment of political debts.

Abolition of log-rolling and restoration of the Wilson conception of a fact-finding Tariff Commission, quasi-judicial and free from the executive domination what has destroyed the usefulness of the present commission.

Duties that will permit effective competition, insure against monopoly and at the same time produce a fair revenue for the support of government. Actual difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, with adequate safeguard for the wage of the American laborer, must be the extreme measure of every tariff rate.

Safeguarding the public against monopoly created by special tariff favors.

Equitable distribution of the benefits and burdens of the tariff among all.

Farm Relief

There is a need of supplemental legislation for the control and orderly handling of agricultural surpluses, in order that the price of the surplus may not determine the price of the whole crop. Labor has benefited by collective bargaining and some industries by tariff. Agriculture must be as effectively aided.

The Democratic Party in its 1924 platform pledged its support to such legislation. It now reaffirms that stand and pledges the united efforts of the legislative and executive branches of Government, as far as may be controlled by the party, to the immediate enactment of such legislation.

We pledge that in its tariff policy the Democratic Party will insist upon equality of treatment between agriculture and other industries.

Farm relief must rest on the basis of an economic equality of agriculture with other industries. To give this equality a remedy must be found, which will include among other things:

Credit aid by loans to co-operatives on at least as favorable a basis as the Government aid to the merchant marine.

Creation of a Federal Farm Board to assist the farmer and stock raiser in the marketing of their products, as the Federal Reserve Board has done for the banker and business man.

Reduction through proper Government agencies of the spread between what the farmer and stock raiser gets and the ultimate consumer pays, with consequent benefits to both.

Consideration of the condition of agriculture in the formulation of Government financial and tax measures.

We pledge the party to foster and develop co-operative marketing associations through appropriate Government aid.

Coal

Bituminous coal is not only the common base of manufacture, but is a vital agency in our interstate transportation. The demoralization of this industry, its labor conflicts and distress, its waste of a national resource and disordered public service demand constructive legislation that will allow capital and labor a fair share of prosperity with adequate protection to the consuming public.

Mining is one of the basic industries of this country. It is the duty of our Government to foster this industry and to remove the restrictions that destroy its prosperity.

Transportation

We must promote every form of transportation in a state of highest efficiency. Recognizing the prime importance of air transportation, we shall encourage its development by every possible means.

The Federal Government should construct and maintain at its own expense, roads upon its public lands. We reaffirm our approval of the Federal Roads Law, enacted by a Democratic Administration. Common carriers, whether by land, water or rail, must be protected in an equal opportunity to compete so that govern-

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REPUBLICAN—Continued

ence to that policy is essential for the continued prosperity of the country. Under it the standard of living of the American people has been raised to the highest levels ever known.

The Tariff Act of 1922 has justified itself in the expansion of our foreign trade during the last five years. Our domestic exports have increased from 3.3 billions of dollars in 1922 to 4.3 billions in 1927. During the same period imports have increased from 3.1 billions to 4.4 billions.

It is inconceivable that American labor will ever consent to the abolition of protection which would bring the American standard of living down to the level of that in Europe, or that the American farmer could survive if the enormous consuming power of the people in this country was curtailed and its market at home, if not destroyed, at least seriously impaired.

Farm Relief

The Republican Congresses have been most responsive in the matter of agricultural appropriations, not only to meet crop emergencies, but for the extension and development of the activities of the Department of Agriculture.

The Treasury Department and Congress have lightened the tax burden on farming communities, and through the Federal Farm Loan System there has been made available to the farmers of the Nation \$1,850,000,000 for loaning purposes at a low rate of interest, and through the intermediate credit banks, \$655,000,000 of short-term credits have been made available to the farmers.

The President has increased duties on wheat, flour, mill feed and dairy products. Numerous other farm products are now being investigated by the Tariff Commission.

The Republican Party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation creating a Federal farm board clothed with the necessary powers to promote the establishment of a farm marketing system of farmer-owned and controlled stabilization corporations or associations to prevent and control surpluses through orderly distribution.

We favor adequate tariff protection to such of our agricultural products as are affected by foreign competition.

We favor, without putting the Government into business, the establishment of a Federal system of organization for co-operative and orderly marketing of farm products.

The vigorous efforts of this Administration toward broadening our exports market will be continued.

The Republican Party pledges itself to the development and enactment of measures which will place the agricultural interests of America on a basis of economic equality with other industry to insure its prosperity and success.

Coal

The mining industry has always been self-sustaining, but we believe that the Government should make every effort to aid the industry by protection by removing any restrictions which may be hampering its development, and by increased technical and economic research investigations which are necessary for its welfare and normal development. The party is anxious, hopeful, and willing to assist in any feasible plan for the stabilization of the coal mining industry, which will work with justice to the miners, consumers and producers.

Transportation

Improved highway conditions is a gauge of our rural development and our commercial activity. We pledge our support to continued appropriations for this work commensurate with our needs and resources.

We favor the construction of roads and trails in our national forests necessary to their protection and utilization. In appropriations therefor the taxes which these lands would pay if taxable should be considered as a controlling factor.

Prompt and effective railroad service at the lowest rates which will provide for its maintenance and allow a reasonable return to the investor so they may be encouraged to advance new capital for acquired developments has long been recognized by the Republican Party as a necessity of national existence.

The Nation has made extraordinary advances in the field of commercial aviation. It is fitting our first efforts should be to establish an air communication with Latin America and Canada.

The development of a system of aircraft registration, inspection and control is a credit to the Republican Administration, which, quick to appreciate the importance of this new transportation development, created machinery for its safeguarding.

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DEMOCRATIC—Continued

mental regulations against exorbitant rates and inefficiency will be aided by competition.

Merchant Marine

We reaffirm our support of an efficient, dependable American merchant marine for the carriage of the greater portion of our commerce and for the national defense.

The Democratic Party has consistently and vigorously supported the shipping services maintained by the regional United States Shipping Board in the interest of all ports and all sections of our country and has successfully opposed the discontinuance of any of these lines.

We favor the transfer of these lines gradually to the local private American companies when such companies can show their ability to take over and permanently maintain the lines. Lines that cannot now be transferred to private enterprise should continue to be operated as at present and should be kept in an efficient state by remodeling of some vessels and replacements of others.

We are unalterably opposed to a monopoly in American shipping and are opposed to the operation of any of our services in a manner that would retard the development of any ports or sections of our country.

Flood Control

We heartily indorse the flood control act of last May which recognizes that the flood waters of the Mississippi River and its tributaries constitute a national problem of the gravest character and makes provision for their speedy and effective control. It is a great piece of constructive legislation, and we pledge our party to its vigorous and early enforcement.

National Resources

We favor and will promote deep waterways and removal of discrimination against water transportation. We favor expeditious construction of flood-relief works on the Mississippi and Colorado Rivers and such reclamation and irrigation projects upon the Colorado River as may be found feasible.

We favor appropriation for prompt co-ordinated surveys by the United States to determine the possibilities of general navigation improvements and water-power development on navigable streams and their tributaries and to obtain reliable information as to the most economical navigation improvement, in combination with the most efficient and complete development of water power.

We favor the strict enforcement of the Federal Water-Power Act.

Reclamation

The Federal Government should improve and develop its public lands so that they may go into private ownership and become subjected to taxation for the support of the States wherein they exist.

The Democratic Administration will actively, effectively, efficiently and economically carry on reclamation projects and make equitable adjustments with the homestead entrymen for the mistakes the Government has made, and extend all practical aid to refinance declamation and drainage projects.

Radio

Government supervision must secure to all the people the advantage of radio communication, and, likewise, guarantee the right of free speech. Official control in contravention of this guarantee should not be tolerated. Governmental control must prevent monopolistic use of radio communication and guarantee equitable distribution and enjoyment thereof.

The 18th Amendment

The Republican Party, for eight years in complete control of the Government at Washington, presents the remarkable spectacle of feeling compelled in its national platform to promise obedience to a provision of the Federal Constitution which it has flagrantly disregarded and to apologize to the country for its failure to enforce laws enacted by the Congress of the United States. Speaking for the National Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto.

Veterans

Through Democratic votes, and in spite of two Republican Presidents' opposition, the Congress has maintained America's traditional policy to generously care for the veterans of the World

Continued on next page

REPUBLICAN—Continued**Merchant Marine**

The Republican Party stands for the American-built, American-owned and American-operated merchant marine.

Flood Control

The Mississippi Valley flood was met with energetic action by the Republican Administration.

Congress promptly passed legislation authorizing the expenditure of \$325,000,000 for the construction of flood-control works, which it is believed will prevent the recurrence of such a disaster.

National Resources

We believe in the practical application of the conservation principle by the wide development of our national resources.

The Republican policy is to prevent monopolies in the control and utilization of natural resources. Under the general leasing law, enacted by a Republican Congress, the ownership of the mineral estate remains in the Government, but development occurs through private capital and energy.

To prevent wasteful exploitation of our oil products, President Coolidge appointed an oil conservation board, which is now conducting an inquiry into all phases of petroleum production, in the effort to devise a national policy for the conservation and proper utilization of our oil resources.

The Republican Party has been forehanded in assuring the development of water power in accordance with public interest.

Reclamation

Federal reclamation of arid lands is a Republican policy. It has increased the wealth of the Nation and made the West more prosperous.

Cheaper transportation for bulk goods from the Midwest agricultural sections to the sea is recognized by the Republican Party as a vital factor for the relief of agriculture. To that end we favor the continued development in inland and in intra-coastal waterways as an essential part of our transportation system.

Radio

We stand for the administration of the radio facilities of the United States under wise and expert Government supervision.

The 18th Amendment

The people, through the method provided by the Constitution, have written the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. The Republican Party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and vigorous enforcement of this provision of the Constitution.

Veterans

Our expenditures for the benefit of all our veterans now aggregate \$750,000,000 annually. Increased hospital facilities have been provided.

Payments in compensation have more than doubled, and in the matter of rehabilitations, pensions and insurance, generous provision has been made.

Full and adequate relief for our disabled veterans is our aim, and we commend the action of Congress in further liberalizing the laws applicable to veterans' relief.

Women

The Republican Party accepts wholeheartedly equality on the part of women, and in the public service it can present a record of appointments of women in the legal, diplomatic, judicial, treasury and other governmental departments. We earnestly urge on the women that they participate even more generally than now in party management and activity.

Immigration

The Republican Party believes that in the interest of both native and foreign-born wage-earners, it is necessary to restrict immigration. Where, however, the law works undue hardship by depriving the immigrant of the comfort and society of those bound by close family ties, such modification should be adopted as will afford relief.

Civil Service

The merit system in Government service originated with and has been developed by the Republican Party. Steps have already

Continued on next page

DEMOCRATIC—Continued

War. In extending them free hospitalization, a statutory award for tuberculosis, a program of progressive hospital construction, and provisions for compensation for the disabled, the widows and orphans, America has surpassed the record of any nation in the history of the world.

We pledge the veterans that none of the benefits heretofore accorded by the Wilson Administration and the votes of Democratic members of Congress shall be withdrawn; that these will be added to more in accordance with veterans' and their dependents' actual needs. Generous appropriations, honest management, the removal of vexatious administration delays and sympathetic assistance of the veterans of all wars is what the Democratic Party demands and promises.

Women

We declare for equality of women with men in all political and governmental matters.

Children are the chief asset of the Nation. Therefore, their protection through infancy and childhood against exploitation is an important national duty.

The Democratic Party has always opposed exploitation of women in industry and has stood for such conditions of work as will preserve their health and safety.

We favor an equal wage for equal service, and likewise favor adequate appropriations for the Women's and Children's Bureau.

Immigration

Laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, but the provisions contained in these laws that separate husbands from wives and parents from infant children are inhuman and not essential to the purpose or the efficacy of such law.

Civil Service

Grover Cleveland made the extension of the merit system a tenet of our political faith. We shall preserve and maintain the civil service.

We favor legislation making fair and liberal compensation to Government employees who are injured in accident or by occupational disease, and to the dependents of such workers as may die as a result thereof.

Federal employees should receive a living wage based upon American standards of decent living. Present wages are in many instances far below that standard. We favor a fair and liberal retirement law for Government employees in the classified service.

Labor

We favor the principle of collective bargaining and the democratic principle that organized labor should choose its own representatives without coercion or interference.

Labor is not a commodity. Human rights must be safeguarded. Labor should be exempt from the operation of anti-trust laws.

The expressed purpose of representatives of capital, labor and the bar to devise a plan for the elimination of the present evils with respect to injunctions must be supported and legislation designed to accomplish these ends formulated and passed.

We favor legislation providing that products of convict labor shipped from one State to another shall be subject to laws of the latter State as though they had been produced therein.

We favor the adoption by the Government, after a study of this subject, of a scientific plan whereby during periods of unemployment appropriations shall be made available for the construction of necessary public works and the lessening, as far as consistent with public interests, of Government construction work when labor is generally and satisfactorily employed in private enterprise.

States Rights

We demand that the constitutional rights and powers of the States shall be preserved in their full vigor and virtue.

We demand a revival of the spirit of local self-government without which free institutions cannot be preserved.

Monopolies

We demand the strict enforcement of the anti-trust laws and the enactment of other laws, if necessary to control this great menace to trade and commerce and thus to preserve the right of the small merchant and manufacturer to earn a legitimate profit from his business.

Dishonest business should be treated without influence at the national capitol. Honest business, no matter its size, need have no fears of a Democratic administration. The Democratic Party will ever oppose illegitimate and dishonest business. It will foster, promote and encourage all legitimate business enterprises.

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REPUBLICAN—Continued

been taken by the Republican Congress to make the service more attractive as to wages and retirement privileges.

Labor

Under this Administration a high level of wages and living has been established and maintained. The door of opportunity has been opened wide to all. It has given to our people greater comfort and leisure and the mutual profits has been evident in the increasingly harmonious relations between employers and employes, and the steady rise by promotion of men in the shops to places at the council tables of the industries.

States Rights

The Federal Government should zealously protect the national and international rights of its citizens. It should be equally zealous to respect and maintain the rights of the States and to uphold the vigor and balance of our dual system of government. The effort which is being continually made to have the Federal Government move into the field of State activities has never had and never will have the support of the Republican Party.

Monopolies

The protection of the public from exactions or burdens in rates for service by reason of monopoly control, and the protection of the smaller organizations from suppression in their own field, has been a fundamental idea in all regulatory enactments.

Honesty in Government

We stand for honesty in government, for the appointment of officials whose integrity cannot be questioned. We deplore the fact that any official has ever fallen from this high standard and that certain American citizens of both parties have so far forgotten their duty as citizens as to traffic in national interests for private gain. We have prosecuted and shall always prosecute any official who subordinates his public duty to his personal interest.

Campaign Funds

Economy, honesty and decency in the conduct of political campaigns are a necessity if representative government is to be preserved to the people and political parties are to hold the respect of the citizens at large.

The improper use of money in governmental and political affairs is a great national evil. One of the most effective remedies for this abuse is publicity in all matters touching campaign contributions and expenditures.

Hawaii-Alaska

We favor a continuance for the territory of Hawaii of Federal assistance in harbor improvements, the appropriation of its share of Federal funds and the systematic extension of the settlement of public lands by the Hawaiian race.

We indorse the policy of the present Administration with reference to Alaska and favor a continuance of the constructive development of the territory.

Indians

We favor the creation of a commission to be appointed by the President, including one or more Indian citizens, to investigate and report to Congress upon the existing system of the administration of Indian affairs. The treaty and property rights of the Indians of the United States must be guaranteed to them.

Anti-Lynching

We renew our recommendation that the Congress enact at the earliest possible date a Federal anti-lynching law so that the full influence of the Federal Government may be wielded to exterminate this hideous crime.—*Extracts.*

DEMOCRATIC—Continued**Honesty in Government**

The whole official organization under Republican rule has become saturated with dishonesty, defiant of public opinion and actuated only by a partisan desire to perpetuate its control of the Government.

As in the time of Samuel J. Tilden, from whom the presidency was stolen, the watchword of the day should be, "Turn the rascals out." This is the appeal of the Democratic Party to the people of the country.

Campaign Funds

We shall, beginning not later than August 1, 1928, and every thirty days thereafter, the last publication and filing being not later than five days before the election, publish in the press and file with the appropriate committees of the House and Senate a complete account of all contributions, the names of the contributors, the amounts expended and the purposes for public inspection the books and records relating to such matters. In the event that any financial obligations are contracted and not paid, our National Committee will similarly report and publish, at least five days before the election, all details respecting such obligations.

We agree to keep and maintain a permanent record of all campaign contributions and expenditures, and to insist that contributions by the citizens of one State to the campaign committees of other States shall have immediate publicity.

Hawaii-Alaska

We favor the development of Alaska and Hawaii in the traditional American way, through self-government.

Philippines

The Filipino people have succeeded in maintaining a stable Government, and have thus fulfilled the only condition laid down by the Congress as a prerequisite to the granting of independence. We declare that it is now our liberty and our duty to keep our promise to these people by granting them immediately the independence which they so honorably covet.

Porto Rico

We favor granting to Porto Rico such territorial form of Government as would meet the present economic conditions of the island and provide for the aspirations of her people, with the view to ultimate statehood accorded to all Territories of the United States since the beginning of our Government, and we believe any officials appointed to administer the Government of such Territories should be qualified by previous bona fide residence therein.

Canal Zone

We favor the employment of American citizens in the operation and maintenance of the Panama Canal in all positions above the grade of messenger, and favor as liberal wages and conditions of employment as prevailed under previous Democratic administrations.

Education

The Federal Government should offer to the States such counsel, advice, results of research and aid as may be made available through the Federal agencies for the general improvement of our schools in view of our national needs.

Public Health

The Democratic Party pledges itself to enlarge the existing Bureau of Health and to do all things possible to stamp out communicable and contagious diseases and to spare no means to lift the apprehension of diseases from the minds of our people.

Changing Sessions of Congress

We favor legislation to prevent defeated members of both houses of Congress from participating in the sessions of Congress by having the date for convening the Congress immediately after the biennial national election.—*Extracts.*

The Republican and Democratic Candidates - 1928

Brief Histories of the Men Nominated by Their Respective Parties

Republican

Presidential Nominee

Name: Herbert Clark Hoover. *Residence:* Stanford University, California. *Place and date of birth:* West Branch, Iowa, August 10, 1874. *Paternal ancestry:* English and Scotch. *Family:* Married Lou Henry of Monterey, California, 1899; *Children*—Herbert Clark, Allan Henry. *Present occupation:* Secretary of Commerce. *Religion:* Quaker (Society of Friends). *Education and training:* Public schools of Iowa and Leland Stanford University (degree of Engineering). *Public offices held:* Represented Panama-Pacific International Exposition in Europe, 1913-14; Chairman American Relief Committee, London, England, 1914-15; Chairman Commission for Relief in Belgium, 1914-1919; U. S. Food Administrator, June, 1917-July 1, 1919; served as member, War Trade Council; was chairman U. S. Grain Corporation; U. S. Sugar Equalization Board; Inter-allied Food Council, Food Section Supreme Economic Council, European Coal Council; Director of various economic measures in Europe during Armistice, including organization of food supplies to Poland, Serbia, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria, Roumania, Armenia, Baltic States, etc., 1919; Chairman, American Relief Administration engaged in Children's Relief Work in Europe, 1919; Vice-Chairman President Wilson's 2d Industrial Conference, 1920; Chairman, European Relief Council, 1920, Secretary of Commerce by appointment of President Harding since March 5, 1921; Chairman, President's Conference on Unemployment, Sept. 20, 1921; Member, Advisory Committee Limitation of Armaments Conference, Nov., 1921; Chairman, Colorado River Commission. Nominated for President, Rep. Nat. Con., Kansas City, Mo., June 14, 1928. Formally notified of nomination, Stanford University, California, August 10, 1928, by Senator George H. Moses, N. H., Per. Ch. Rep. Nat. Con.

Vice-Presidential Nominee

Name: Charles Curtis. *Residence:* Topeka, Kansas. *Present occupation:* United States Senator from Kansas. *Place and date of birth:* North Topeka, Shawnee County, Kansas, Jan. 25, 1860. *Paternal ancestry:* English, French-Canadian and Indian. *Family:* Married Annie E. Baird, on November 27, 1884. *Children:* Mrs. Permelia George, Harry K. Curtis, Mrs. Leona Knight. *Education and training:* Common school. Admitted to bar, 1881, and since in practice in Topeka. *Public offices held:* County Attorney, Shawnee County, 1884-1888; Member of House, 53d to 60th Congress, 1893-1909; elected U. S. Senator, Jan. 23, 1907, for unexpired term of J. R. Burton, resigned, succeeding Hon. A. W. Benson. Appointed *ad interim* and resigned seat in 60th Congress; re-elected to Senate for terms 1907-1913, 1915-21, 1921-27. Majority leader of Senate. Nominated for President, Rep. Nat. Con., Kansas City, Mo., June 15, 1928. Formally notified, Topeka, Kansas, Aug. 18, 1928, by Senator S. D. Fees, O., Temp. Ch. Rep. Nat. Con.

Democratic

Presidential Nominee

Name: Alfred Emanuel Smith. *Residence:* Hotel Biltmore, New York City. *Present Occupation:* Governor of New York. *Place and date of birth:* New York City, December 30, 1873. *Paternal ancestry:* Irish. *Religion:* Roman Catholic. *Family:* On May 6, 1900, married Catherine Dunn. *Children* are Alfred E. Smith, Jr., Mrs. Emily Josephine Warner, Mrs. Catherine Alice Quillan, Arthur Williams Smith and Walter Joseph Smith. There are three grandchildren. *Education and training:* St. James' Parish School. Worked as a boy selling newspapers and later in his father's trucking business. Also worked as a helper in the Fulton Fish Market and as a laborer for a steam pump company in Brooklyn. During 1921 and 1922 he was chairman of the United States Trucking Corporation. *Public offices held:* Clerk, Commissioner of Jurors, New York County, 1895-1903; member of New York Assembly, 1904-1915, being majority leader, 1911, minority leader, 1912, speaker, 1913, and again minority leader, 1914-1915; member of New York Constitutional Convention, 1915; Sheriff of New York County, 1916-1917; president, New York City Board of Aldermen, 1918; Governor, 1919-1920; member of Port of New York Authority, 1921-1922; again Governor, 1923 to date. Nominated Dem. Nat. Con., Houston, Texas, June 29, 1928. Formally notified, Albany, N. Y., Aug. 22, 1928, by Sen. Key Pittman, Nev., Per. Ch. Dem. Nat. Con.

Vice-Presidential Nominee

Name: Joseph Taylor Robinson. *Residence:* Little Rock, Arkansas. *Present occupation:* United States Senator from Arkansas and lawyer. *Place and date of birth:* Lonoke, Arkansas, August 26, 1872. *Paternal ancestry:* English. *Religion:* Methodist. *Family:* Married Weilda Gertrude Miller, on December 15, 1896. No children. *Education and training:* Public schools and at the University of Arkansas, graduating in 1892, and the University of Virginia Law School, graduating in 1894. Admitted to the bar in 1895. *Public offices held:* Member, Arkansas House of Representatives, 1895-1897; Presidential elector, 1900; member of National House of Representatives, 1903-1913; Governor, 1913; United States Senator, 1913 to date, and minority leader of Senate since 1923. Nominated for Vice-President, Dem. Nat. Con., Houston, Texas, June 29, 1928. Formally notified, Hot Springs, Ark., Aug. 30, 1928, by Claude G. Bowers, Temp. Ch. Dem. Nat. Con.

Messsages of the Nominees to the Conventions

Secretary Hoover and Governor Smith when informed of their Nominations sent the following telegrams to the permanent chairmen of their respective party conventions

MR. HOOVER'S MESSAGE

Washington, D. C., June 14, 1928

HAVE your telegram, and I sincerely appreciate the confidence which the party has shown in me and the honor it bestows upon me. You convey too great a compliment when you say that I have earned the right to the Presidential nomination. No man can establish such an obligation upon any part of the American people. My country owes me no debt. It gave me, as it gives every boy and girl, a chance. It gave me schooling, independence of action, opportunity for service and honor. In no other land could a boy from a country village without inheritance or influential friends look forward with unbounded hope.

My whole life has taught me what America means. I am indebted to my country beyond any human power to repay. It conferred upon me the mission to administer America's response to the appeal of afflicted nations during the war. It has called me into two Cabinets of two Presidents. By these experiences I have observed the burdens and responsibilities of the greatest office in the world. That office touches the happiness of every home. It deals with the peace of nations. No man could think of it except in terms of solemn consecration.

You ask me for a message:

A new era and new forces have come into our economic life and our setting among nations of the world. These forces demand of us constant study and effort if prosperity, peace and contentment shall be maintained.

This convention, like those which have preceded it for two generations, has affirmed the principles of our party, and we defined its policies upon the problems which now confront us.

I stand upon that platform. At a later date I shall discuss it fully, but in the meantime I may well say that under the principles the victory of the party will assume national defense, maintain economy in the administration of government, protect American workmen, farmers and business men alike from competition arising out of lower standards of living abroad, foster individual initiative, insure stability of business and employment, promote our foreign commerce and develop our natural resources.

You have manifested a deep concern in the problems of agriculture. You have pledged the party to support specific and constructive relief upon a nation-wide scale, backed by the resources of the Federal Government. We will and must find a sound solution that will bring security and contentment to this great section of our people.

But the problems of the next four years are more than economic. In a profound sense they are moral and spiritual. This convention has sounded a note of moral leadership.

Shall the world have peace? Shall prosperity in this nation be more thoroughly distributed? Shall we build steadily toward the ideal of equal opportunity to all our people? Shall there be secured that obedience to law which is the essential assurance of life of our institutions? Shall earnest-

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MR. SMITH'S MESSAGE

Albany, N. Y., June 29, 1928

I RECEIVED your message on behalf of the convention. With a deep sense of responsibility and a fervent prayer for the guidance of Divine Providence, I accept the call of my party to lead it in the national campaign. I can think of no greater privilege in this world than to serve our country. My gratitude to the convention for its expression of confidence in me I cannot adequately express in this telegram. I will have to make it manifest by single-minded devotion to the United States and her people in every section.

The happiness and welfare of the millions of men, women and children who constitute the nation was the great driving force behind the doctrine enunciated by the immortal Jefferson, given life by him and carried through by Cleveland and Wilson. I am convinced that our platform voices that doctrine. I stand committed to the platform and will welcome an opportunity to reorganize and make more efficient the agencies of government, to the end that the burden of taxation may be lightened.

Our platform lays at rest the absurd claim insidiously put out by Republican propaganda that the Republican party has a monopoly upon the mechanics of prosperity. Our platform in its tariff and financial policy gives assurance to every legitimate business man, wage earner, farmer and taxpayer, that prosperity will not only be conserved but fairly distributed among all.

The definite declaration of the convention to aid agriculture and the planks dealing with labor problems are sound, progressive and sincere, as is also the party commitment to the development of our water power without alienating our God-given resources. Our plank on foreign policy states the simple truth that the Divine command to "love thy neighbor as thyself" contains no limitation and was intended to apply as between nations.

The equal and even enforcement of the law is the cornerstone upon which rests the whole structure of democratic government. If it is the will of the people of this nation that I am to take an oath as President of the United States to protect and defend our Constitution and laws, I will execute that oath to the limit of my ability without reservation or evasion.

It is well known that I believe there should be fundamental changes in the present provisions for National prohibition, based, as I stated in my Jackson Day letter, on the fearless application to the problem of the principles of Jeffersonian Democracy.

While I fully appreciate that these changes can only be made by the people themselves through their elected legislative representatives, I feel it to be the duty of the chosen leader of the people to point the way, which in his opinion leads to a sane, sensible solution of a condition which I am convinced is entirely unsatisfactory to the great mass of the people.

Mr. Hoover States His Position In Accepting Republican Nomination

Direct Extracts from speech of Acceptance delivered by Mr. Hoover at Stanford University, California, August 11, 1928.



OU bring formal notice of my nomination by the Republican Party to the Presidency of the United States. I accept. It is a great honor to be chosen for leadership in that party which has so largely made the history of our country in these last 70 years.

Our problems of the past seven years have been problems of reconstruction; our problems of the future are problems of construction. The World War released ideas of government in conflict with our principles.

As our problems grow so do our temptations grow to venture away from those principles upon which our republic was founded and upon which it has grown to greatness.

No party ever accepted a more difficult task of reconstruction than did the Republican Party in 1921. Peace has been made. The healing processes of good will have extinguished the fires of hate. We have advanced the ideals of law and of peace, in substitution for force. Federal expenses have been reduced by two billions per annum. The national debt has been reduced by six and a half billions. The foreign debts have been settled in large part and on terms which have regard for our debtors and for our taxpayers. Taxes have been reduced four successive times. These reductions have been made in the particular interest of the smaller taxpayers.

Triumph Over Poverty

Commerce and industry have revived. Although the agricultural, coal and textile industries still require our solicitude and assistance, yet they have made substantial progress. Our exports are 58 per cent greater than before the war. Confidence in our form of government has never been greater.

We have doubled savings deposits. We have nearly doubled our life insurance. The gifts of America to relief have surpassed by hundreds of millions any totals for any similar period in all human record.

We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land.

The bettered home surroundings, the expanded schools and playgrounds, and the enlarged leisure which have come with our economic progress have brought to the average family a fuller life, a wider outlook, a stirred imagination, and a lift in aspirations.

Farm Relief

Successful democracy rests wholly upon the moral and spiritual quality of its people. Material prosperity and moral progress must march together if we make the United States that commonwealth so grandly conceived by its founders.

The most urgent economic problem in our nation today is in agriculture. We have pledged ourselves to find a solution.

In my mind most agricultural discussions go wrong because of two false premises. The first is that agriculture is one industry. It is a dozen distinct industries incapable of the same organization. The second false premise is that rehabilitation will be complete when it has reached a point compar-

able with pre-war. Agriculture was not upon a satisfactory basis before the war.

Farming is and must continue to be an individualistic business of small units and independent ownership. The farm is more than a business; it is a state of living. Therefore, if the farmers' position is to be improved by larger operations it must be done not on the farm but in the field of distribution. Agriculture has partially advanced in this direction through co-operatives and pools. But the traditional co-operative is often not a complete solution.

Differences of opinion as to both causes and remedy have retarded the completion of a constructive program of relief.

Our platform lays a solid basis upon which we can build. It offers an affirmative program.

Tariff and the Farmer

An adequate tariff is the foundation of farm relief.

I would use my office and influence to give the farmer the full benefit of our historic tariff policy.

Increase in railway rates has been one of the penalties of the war. These increases have been added to the cost to the farmer of reaching seaboard and foreign markets and result therefore in reduction of his prices.

Nature has endowed us with a great system of inland waterways. Their modernization will comprise a most substantial contribution to midwest farm relief.

An outstanding proposal of the Party program is the reorganization of the marketing system. It pledges the creation of a Federal Farm Board of representative farmers to be clothed with authority and resources with which not only to still further aid farmers' co-operatives and pools and to assist generally in solution of farm problems but especially to build up with federal finance, farmer-owned and farmer-controlled stabilization corporations which will protect the farmer from the depressions and demoralization of seasonal gluts and periodical surpluses.

Government and Business

A nation which is spending ninety billions a year can well afford an expenditure of a few hundred millions for a workable program that will give to one-third of its population their fair share of the nation's prosperity. Nor does this proposal put the government into business except so far as it is called upon to furnish initial capital with which to build up the farmer to the control of his own destinies.

During my term as Secretary of Commerce I have steadily endeavored to build up a system of co-operation between the government and business. All elements interested in the problem of a particular industry such as manufacturer, distributor, worker, and consumer have been called into council together, not for a single occasion but for continuous work. These efforts have been successful beyond any expectation. They have been accomplished without interference or regulation by the government. I should wish to apply the same method to agriculture.

The working out of agricultural relief constitutes the most important obligation of the next Administration. I stand pledged to these proposals.

Continued on next page

Labor and Immigration

The Republican principle of an effective control of imported goods and of immigration has contributed greatly to the prosperity of our country. There is no selfishness in this defense of our standards of living.

We welcome our new immigrant citizens and their great contribution to our nation; we seek only to protect them equally with those already here. We shall amend the immigration laws to relieve unnecessary hardships upon families.

I am sure the American people would rather entrust the perfection of the tariff to the consistent friend of the tariff than to our opponents, who voted against our present protection to the worker and the farmer, and whose whole economic theory over generations has been the destruction of the protective principle.

The trade union movement in our country has maintained two departures from such movements in all other countries. They have been staunch supporters of American individualism and American institutions. They have steadfastly opposed subversive doctrines from abroad.

During these past years we have grown greatly in the mutual understanding between employer and employee. At one time we demanded for our workers a "full dinner pail." We have now gone far beyond that conception. Today we demand large comfort and greater participation in life and leisure.

The Republican platform gives the pledge of the Party to the support of labor. It endorses the principle of collective bargaining and freedom in labor negotiations. We stand also pledged to the curtailment of excessive use of the injunction in labor disputes.

The time has arrived when we must undertake a larger visioned development of our water resources. Every drop which runs to the sea without yielding its full economic service is a waste.

We cannot develop modernized water transportation by isolated projects. We must develop it as a definite and positive interconnected system of transportation. The Congress has authorized and has in process of legislation great programs of public works. In addition to the works in development of water resources, we have in progress large undertakings in public roads and the construction of public buildings.

It comprises the largest engineering construction ever undertaken by any government. These works will provide jobs for an army of men.

I rejoice in the completion of legislation providing adequate flood control of the Mississippi. It marks not alone the undertaking of a great national task, but it constitutes a contribution to the development of the South.

The Eighteenth Amendment

I recently stated my position upon the Eighteenth Amendment, which I again repeat:

"I do not favor the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. I stand for the efficient enforcement of the laws enacted thereunder.

"Our country has deliberately undertaken a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose. It must be worked out constructively."

Common sense compels us to realize that grave abuses have occurred—abuses which must be remedied. And organized searching investigation of fact and causes can alone determine the wise method of correcting them. Crime and

disobedience of law cannot be permitted to break down the Constitution and laws of the United States.

Modification of the enforcement laws which would permit that which the Constitution forbids is nullification. This the American people will not countenance. Change in the Constitution can and must be brought about only by the straightforward methods provided in the Constitution itself. There are those who do not believe in the purposes of several provisions of the Constitution. No one denies their right to seek to amend it. They are not subject to criticism for asserting that right. But the Republican party does deny the right of anyone to seek to destroy the purposes of the Constitution by indirection.

Whoever is elected President takes an oath not only to faithfully execute the office of the President, but that oath provides still further that he will, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States. I should be untrue to these great traditions, untrue to my oath of office, were I to declare otherwise.

Conduct of Business

The relations of government and business are multiplying daily. Government should not engage in business in competition with its citizens. Such actions extinguish the enterprise and initiative which has been the glory of America and which has been the root of its pre-eminence among the nations of the earth. On the other hand, it is the duty of business to conduct itself so that government regulations or government competition is unnecessary.

When business cures its own abuses it is true self-government which comprises more than political institutions. One of the greatest difficulties of business with government is the duplication of governmental activities. A great reduction could be made in governmental expenditure and more consistent and continued national policies could be developed if we could secure the grouping of these agencies devoted to one major purpose under single responsibility and authority. I should consider it an obligation to enlist the support of Congress to effect it.

Women in Politics

As Secretary of Commerce I have been greatly impressed by the fact that the foundation of American business is the independent business man. Alike with our farmers, his is the stronghold of American individuality. We must maintain his opportunity and his individual service. He and the public must be protected from any domination or from predatory business.

There rests upon government many responsibilities which affect the moral and spiritual welfare of our people. The participation of women in politics means a keener realization of the importance of these questions. It means higher political standards.

I would wish that the women of our country could embrace this problem in citizenship as peculiarly their own. If they could apply their higher sense of service and responsibility, their freshness of enthusiasm, their capacity for organization to this problem, it would become, as it should become, an issue of profound patriotism. The whole plane of political life would be lifted, the foundations of democracy made more secure.

In this land, dedicated to tolerance, we still find outbreaks of intolerance. I come of Quaker stock. My ancestors were persecuted for their beliefs. Here they sought and found religious freedom. By blood and conviction I stand for religious tolerance both in act and in spirit. The glory

of our American ideals is the right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

Corruption in Office

In the past years there has been corruption participated in by individual officials and members of both political parties in national, state and municipal affairs. Too often this corruption has been viewed with indifference by a great number of our people. Dishonesty in government, whether national, state or municipal, is a double wrong. It is treason to the state. It is destructive of self-government. Government in the United States rests not only upon the consent of the governed, but upon the conscience of the nation. Government weakens the moment that its integrity is even doubted. Moral incompetency by those entrusted with government is a blighting wind upon private integrity. There must be no place for cynicism in the creed of America.

Our Civil Service has proved a great national boon. Appointive office must be based solely on merit, character and reputation in the community in which the appointee is to serve; as it is essential for the proper performance of their duties that officials shall enjoy the confidence and respect of the people with whom they serve.

The Spirit of Youth

The greatness of any nation, its freedom from poverty and crime, its aspirations and ideals—are the direct quotient of the care of its children. Racial progress marches upon the feet of healthy and instructed children. There should be no child in America that is not born and does not live under sound conditions of health; that does not have full opportunity of education from the beginning to the end of our institutions; that is not free from injurious labor. Nothing in development of child life will ever replace the solicitude of parents and the surroundings of home, but in many aspects both parents and children are dependent upon the vigilance of government, national, state and local.

To interpret the spirit of the youth into the spirit of our government; to bring the warmth of their enthusiasm and the flame of their idealism into the affairs of the nation—is to make of American government a positive and living force, a factor for greatness and nobility in the life of the nation.

Maintenance of Peace

I think I may say that I have witnessed as much of the horror and suffering of war as any other American. From it I have derived a deep passion for peace. Our foreign policy has one primary object, and that is peace. We have no hates; we wish no further possessions; we harbor no military threats.

There are two co-operating factors in the maintenance of peace—the building of good will by wise and sympathetic handling of international relations, and the adequate preparedness for defense. We must not only be just; we must be respected. Our offer of treaties open to the signature of all, renouncing war as an instrument of national policy, proves that we have every desire to co-operate with other nations for peace. Our country has refused membership in the League of Nations, but we are glad to co-operate with the League in its endeavors to further scientific, economic, and social welfare and to secure limitation of armament.

We are particularly desirous of furthering the limitation of armaments. But we must and shall maintain our naval defense and our merchant marine in the strength and efficiency which will yield to us at all times the primary assurance of liberty, that is, of national safety.

Equal Opportunity

Equality of opportunity is the right of every American—rich or poor, foreign or native-born, irrespective of faith or color. It is the right of every individual to attain that position in life to which his ability and character entitle him. The sum of their achievement is the gigantic harvest of national progress.

Socialism bids all to end the race equally. It holds back the speedy to the pace of the slowest. Anarchy would provide neither training nor umpire. Despotism picks those who should run and those who should win.

Conservative, progressive and liberal thought and action have their only real test in whether they contribute to equal opportunity, whether they hold open the door of opportunity. If they do not they are false in their premise no matter what their name may be.

President Coolidge

The Sherman Law was enacted in endeavor to hold open the door of equal opportunity in business. The commissions for regulation of public utilities were created to prevent discrimination in service and prevent extortion in rates—and thereby the destruction of equal opportunity. Equality of opportunity is a fundamental principle of our nation. With it we must test all our policies. The success or failure of this principle is the test of our government.

I would violate my conscience and the gratitude I feel, did I not upon this occasion express appreciation of the great President who leads our Party today. President Coolidge has not only given a memorable administration, he has left an imprint of rectitude and statesmanship upon the history of our country. His has been the burden of reconstruction of our country from the destruction of war. He has dignified economy to a principle of government. He has charted the course of our nation and our party over many years to come. It is not only a duty but it is the part of statesmanship that we adhere to this course.

Cooperation in Government

No man who stands before the mighty forces which ramify American life has the right to promise solutions at his hand alone. All that an honest man can say is that within the extent of his abilities and his authority and in co-operation with the Congress and with leaders of every element in our people, these problems shall be courageously met and solution will be courageously attempted.

Our purpose is to build in this nation a human society, not an economic system. We wish to increase the efficiency and productivity of our country, but its final purpose is happier homes. We shall succeed through the faith, the loyalty, the self-sacrifice, the devotion to eternal ideals which live today in every American.

The Presidency is more than an administrative office. It must be the symbol of American ideals. It must be the instrument by which national conscience is livened and it must under the guidance of the Almighty interpret and follow that conscience.

Mr. Smith States His Position In Accepting Democratic Nomination

Direct Extracts from speech of Acceptance delivered by Mr. Smith at State Capitol, Albany, New York, August 22, 1928.



WITH a gratitude too strong for words and with humble reliance upon the aid of Divine Providence, I accept your summons to the wider field of action.

Government should be constructive, not destructive; progressive, not reactionary. Dominant in the Republican party today is the element which proclaims and executes the political theories against which the party liberals have rebelled. It assumes that a material prosperity, the every existence of which is challenged, is an excuse for political inequality. It makes the concern of the government, not people, but material things.

I have fought this spirit in my own state. I shall know how to fight it in the nation.

While I emphasize my belief that legitimate business promotes the national welfare, let me warn the forces of corruption and favoritism that Democratic victory means that they will be relegated to the rear and the front seats will be occupied by the friends of equal opportunity.

Liberty and the Law

My administration will be rooted in liberty under the law; liberty that means freedom to the individual to follow his own will so long as he does not harm his neighbor; the same high moral purpose in our conduct as a nation that actuates the conduct of the God-fearing man and woman; that equality of opportunity which lays the foundation for wholesome family life and opens up the outlook for the betterment of the lives of our children.

The Republican party today stands responsible for the widespread dishonesty that has honeycombed its administration. The question of personal guilt has now been thoroughly disposed of and in its place, challenging the wisdom and good judgment of the American people, is the unquestioned evidence of party guilt.

But I would not rest our claim for the confidence of the American people alone upon the misdeeds of the opposite party. Ours must be a constructive campaign.

Unemployment

The Republican party builds its case upon a myth. When four million men, desirous to work and support their families, are unable to secure employment there is very little in the picture of prosperity to attract them and the millions dependent upon them.

Specific industries are wholly prostrate and there is widespread business difficulty and discontent among the individual business men of the country.

The Chamber of Commerce of the United States said in its annual report this year: "No progress has been made on the plan of reorganization of the government's departments as advocated by the chamber." The administration spokesman answers only: "We have given an economical administration," and that has been repeated so often that some people begin to believe it without the slightest proof. I assert that there is no proof.

The actual expenditures for governmental activities during the fiscal year ending in 1928 were just \$346,000,000 more than in President Coolidge's first year.

If the defenders of the administration answer that taxes

have been reduced, they find themselves in a similar dilemma. The government actually took from the people in income taxes \$383,000,000 more during the last fiscal year than during the first year of the Coolidge administration.

If the people commission me to do it, I shall with the aid of the Congress effect a real reorganization and consolidation of governmental activities upon a business basis and institute the real economy which comes from prudent expenditure.

"Equal Opportunity"

Acting upon the principle of "Equal opportunity for all, special privileges for none," I shall ask Congress to carry out the tariff declaration of our platform. The Democratic party does not and under my leadership will not advocate any sudden or drastic revolution in our economic system which would cause business upheaval and popular distress. The Democratic party stands squarely for the maintenance of legitimate business and a high standard of wages for American labor. Both can be maintained and at the same time the tariff can be taken out of the realm of politics and treated on a strictly business basis.

Woodrow Wilson pointed the way to a remedy. It provided for the creation and maintenance of a non-political, quasi-judicial, fact-finding commission which could investigate and advise the President and Congress as to the tariff duties really required to protect American industry and safeguard the high standard of American wages.

The Tariff Commission

I shall restore this commission to the high level upon which President Wilson placed it, in order that, properly manned, it may produce the facts that will enable us to ascertain how we may increase the purchasing power of everybody's income or wages by the adjustment of those schedules which are now the result of log-rolling and which upon their face are extortionate and unnecessary.

Pay no attention to the Republican propaganda and accept my assurance as the leader of our party that Democratic tariff legislation will be honest.

Any foreign policy must have its roots deep in the approval of a very large majority of our people. Therefore, no greater service was ever rendered by any President than by Woodrow Wilson when he struck at the methods of secret diplomacy.

To no declaration of our platform do I more heartily commit myself than the one for the abolition of the practice of the President of entering into agreements for the settlement of internal disputes in Latin American countries, unless the agreements have been consented to by the Senate as provided for in the Constitution of the United States. I personally declare what the platform declares: "Interference in the purely internal affairs of Latin American countries must cease" and I specifically pledge myself to follow this declaration with regard to Mexico as well as the other Latin American countries.

The Monroe Doctrine must be maintained, but not as a pretext for meddling with the purely local concerns of countries which, even though they be small, are sovereign

and entitled to demand and receive respect for their sovereignty. And I shall certainly do all that lies in my power to bring about the fullest concerted action between this country and all the Latin American countries with respect to any step which it may ever be necessary to take to discharge such responsibilities to civilization as may be placed upon us by the Monroe Doctrine.

The evil effect of the administration's policy with respect to Latin America has extended to our relations with the rest of the world. I am not one of those who contend that everything Republican is bad and everything Democratic is good. I approve the effort to renew and extend the arbitration treaties negotiated under the administration of President Wilson. But the usefulness of those treaties as deterrents of war is materially impaired by the reservations asserted by various nations of the right to wage defensive wars as those reservations are interpreted in the light of President Coolidge's record.

Outlawry of War

I pledge myself to a resumption of a real endeavor to make the outlawry of war effective by removing its causes and to substitute the methods of conciliation, conference, arbitration and judicial determination.

The President of the United States has two constitutional duties with respect to prohibition. The first is embodied in his oath of office. If, with one hand on the Bible and the other hand reaching up to heaven, I promise the people of this country that "I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States and to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," you may be sure that I shall live up to that oath to the last degree. I shall to the very limit execute the pledge of our platform "to make an honest endeavor to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

The Eighteenth Amendment

The corruption in enforcement activities which caused a former Republican Prohibition Administrator to state that three-fourths of the dry agents were political ward heelers named by politicians without regard to Civil Service laws and that prohibition is the "new political pork barrel" I will ruthlessly stamp out.

Opinion upon prohibition cuts squarely across the two great political parties. There are thousands of so-called "wets" and "drys" in each. The platform of my party is silent upon any question of change in the law. I personally believe that there should be change and I shall advise the Congress in accordance with my constitutional duty of whatever changes I deem "necessary and expedient." It will then be for the people and the representatives in the national and state legislatures to determine whether these changes shall be made.

The remedy, as I have stated, is the fearless application of Jeffersonian principles. Jefferson and his followers foresaw the complex activities of this great, widespread country. They knew that in rural, sparsely settled districts people would develop different desires and customs from those in densely populated sections and that if we were to be a nation united on truly national matters, there had to be a differentiation in local laws to allow for different local habits. It was for this reason that the Democratic platform in 1884 announced, "We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizens and interfere with individual liberty," and it was for this reason that Woodrow Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act.

In accordance with this Democratic principle, some immediate relief would come from an amendment to the Volstead law giving a scientific definition of the alcoholic content of an intoxicating beverage. The present definition is admittedly inaccurate and unscientific. Each state would then be allowed to fix its own standard of alcoholic content, subject always to the proviso that that standard could not exceed the maximum fixed by the Congress.

I believe, moreover, that there should be submitted to the people the question of some change in the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Saloon

There is no question here of the return of the saloon. When I stated that the saloon "is and ought to be a defunct institution in the country" I meant it. I mean it today. I will never advocate nor approve any law which directly or indirectly permits the return of the saloon.

Such a change would preserve for the dry states the benefit of a national law that would continue to make interstate shipment of intoxicating beverages a crime. It would preserve for the dry states Federal enforcement of prohibition within their own borders. It would permit to citizens of other states a carefully limited and controlled method of effectuating the popular will wholly within the borders of those states without the old evil of the saloon.

Such a method would re-establish respect for law and terminate the agitation which has injected discord into the ranks of the great political parties which should be standing for the accomplishment of fundamental programs for the nation. I may fairly say, even to those who disagree with me, that the solution I offer is one based upon the historic policy of the Democratic party, to assure to each state its complete right of local self-government. I believe it is a solution which would today be offered by Jefferson, or Jackson or Cleveland or Wilson, if those great leaders were with us.

Farm Relief

I am in accord with our platform declaration that the solution of the farm problem must be a prime and immediate concern of the Democratic administration. Our platform points the way to make the tariff effective for crops of which we produce a surplus.

Government should interfere as little as possible with business. But if it does interfere with one phase of economic life, be it by tariff, by assistance to merchant marine, by control of the flow of money and capital through the banking system, it is bad logic, bad economics and an abandonment of government responsibility to say that, as to agriculture alone, the government should not aid.

Co-operative, co-ordinated marketing and warehousing of surplus farm products is essential just as co-ordinated, co-operative control of the flow of capital was found necessary to the regulation of our country's finances. Any plan devised must also be co-ordinated with the other phases of our business institutions. Farmers and farm leaders, economists and fair-minded leaders of finances and business must work out the details.

If I am elected, I shall immediately after election ask leaders of the type I have named, irrespective of party, to enter upon this task. I shall support the activities of this body until a satisfactory law is placed upon the statute books.

Increased efficiency of railroad transportation and terminal handling means lowering of cost, which, in turn, reflects itself in the form of increased purchasing power through reduction in the cost of everyday necessities of life.

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Vice-Presidential Candidates State Their Positions

Senator Charles Curtis

I ACCEPT the nomination of the Republican party for Vice-President of the United States. It is not in the nature of man to refuse such a signal mark of political recognition. I feel that my thirty-three years of life spent in an endeavor to further the cause of good government in this country have been rewarded indeed.

Maintenance and Promotion of National Prosperity

The United States is enjoying today an era of national prosperity never before equaled by any nation on the face of the globe. To maintain and promote that national prosperity, not to sacrifice it to factional interests, are the essential purposes which should shape the administration of our government. The following are only a few of the principal methods by which these aims can be accomplished:

1. To protect agriculture effectively, and to encourage it in every proper manner.
2. To protect American labor by enacting all needed legislation, and by encouraging closer relations between labor and capital.
3. To enforce the laws without fear or favor.
4. To encourage active participation by women in the conduct of the government.
5. To reduce the public debt, public expenses and taxes.
6. To maintain peace, engage in commerce with all nations, and to enter entangling alliances with none.
7. To encourage all industry and to maintain a protective tariff with duties high enough fully to protect American producers, American products and American labor against foreign competition.
8. To develop, aid and encourage means of transportation and communication, national and international, by land and water, and in the air, through the consolidation of railroads; the establishment of a complete system of inland waterways; the re-establishment of a strong Merchant Marine; a strong postal and commercial aircraft service, and a wider and more efficient use of the ever-increasing possibilities of the radio.
9. To give equal and exact justice to all men of whatever state or persuasion.
10. To support the state governments in all their rights.
11. To preserve the Federal Government in its whole constitutional vigor, and to maintain and expand the existing high state of national consciousness.
12. To preserve the liberty of the press; the freedom of speech and worship; civil liberty and security of individual rights; and to promote the cause of education among the people.
13. To protect the lives and property of our citizens by the completion of an adequate system of flood-control for the Mississippi River and its tributaries, and elsewhere if necessary, to prevent a recurrence of a disaster such as recently occurred in the Mississippi Valley.
14. To continue a generous policy in the fulfillment of obligations to veterans of our wars, and to extend it to their widows, orphans and dependents.

Agriculture

The encouragement of agriculture always has been a Republican doctrine. Without the help which the Repub-

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Senator Joe T. Robinson

OTHERS are interested, not alone in the problems and issues with which the campaign is expected to deal, but also in the personal characteristics of the candidates.

The preliminary events of the contest indicate that in order to avoid bitterness, the leaders on both sides must display a sense of justice and fairness by refusing to become the beneficiaries of political influences and processes which they themselves are unwilling to employ. In this way, and in no other, may the poisons of slander and libel be counteracted and overcome.

Farm Relief

Perhaps the most important issue in this campaign arises out of the attitude of the two major parties toward the problems affecting agriculture.

Contrast with this (Republican) record of feebleness and failure the Democratic policy for the improvement of agriculture:

1. We repudiate Mr. Hoover's proposal to limit farm production to the domestic demand, as calculated to belittle, rather than to encourage the great industry of agriculture.

Wheat, cotton and other farm products have long contributed to the maintenance of our balance of trade. In 1927 we sold to other nations cotton amounting to \$959,000,000; wheat sold abroad helped to swell our exports \$324,000,000. If Mr. Hoover's suggestion should be carried out, hundreds of thousands of farmers and their families would lose their property and be driven from their homes, to swell even further the ranks of unemployed in the urban centers.

2. The Democratic party recognizes the right of farmers to lead in the development of farm policies.

One of the reasons the Republican party has failed is that it has relied on the judgment of politicians and rejected the opinions of men whose interests and associations have prompted them to devote lifelong study to farm problems.

3. That adequate credit facilities and better administration of the Farm Loan system be assured in the interest of farmers.

The mismanagement of this system during the last few years has aroused the fears of many that it may be wrecked or its effectiveness greatly impaired if present policies are continued.

4. The necessity is recognized by the Democratic party for an organized agriculture through which the farmer may work out and apply his own remedies, as well as receive government aid, through a Federal Farm Board.

5. The creation of a Federal Farm Board and the financing of co-operative associations to deal with the crop surpluses.

While the equalization fee provided for in the McNary-Haugen bill is not expressly approved, the Democratic platform does recognize the principle of distributing the cost of operations with respect to surplus crops over the marketed units whose producers are benefited thereby.

If a more equitable and effective plan than that comprised by the equalization fee is discovered, it should be adopted. The time has come, however, when an economic adventure is justified in behalf of the millions who engage in that industry without which civilization could not survive. The Democratic nominee for President has committed himself to prompt and decisive action in accordance with the principles outlined in our platform.

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How the National Committees Organize to Elect a President

Election of the Chairman and Other Officers — Establishment of Headquarters
Naming the Campaign Issues — The Division of Duties

By Norborne T. N. Robinson



ALMOST immediately after the adjournment of the national convention, the national committee meets to organize for the conduct of the campaign for election. The members of the national committee participating in this meeting are those re-elected or newly elected to serve during the ensuing four years.

The first work of the committee is the election of its officers, which include a chairman and vice-chairmen, secretary and treasurer. It is customary for the candidate to nominate his personal choices for chairman, secretary and treasurer. According to his wishes in regard to these officers, the national committee invariably duly elects them. The choice of the vice-chairmen and other officers rests entirely with the committee. With the officers installed, an executive committee is elected, of which the chairman, vice-chairman and all important officers are usually ex-officio members.

Responsibilities of the Chairman

Upon the shoulders of the chairman rests the direction of the campaign. He is usually a man who is not only on close personal terms with the candidate, but also a man who has had experience in political organization and management and one who inspires the respect and confidence of the party leaders. While the treasurer is the custodian of the funds it is, as a rule, the chairman who directs the collection of the campaign contributions and says how the money shall be spent.

Obviously the primary object of the national committee is to bring about the election of the candidate. Naturally, the way to do this is to get the voters to go to the polls and vote for him. Upon the accomplishment of this task rests the success or failure of the campaign management.

Organizing for the Campaign

In order to achieve this object a campaign headquarters is established and a campaign organization is immediately thrown together. Various bureaus are set up and experienced men and women are put at the head of them.

The fact that, as a rule, the national conventions have been held and the candidates nominated by July 1, and that election day, which is the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, never falls later than November 8, means that the entire campaign must be organized and carried on in four months.

Each state, however, has a state committee and it is through these committees that the national committee does most of its work in a Presidential campaign. The chairman

of the national committee keeps in close touch with the chairmen of the state committees with co-operation of the members of the national committee from each state.

The Campaign Issues

The issues of the campaign are set by the platforms of the two parties and by the acceptance speeches of the candidates. It often occurs that an issue develops during the campaign and in this event the authoritative utterances concerning that issue come from the candidates. The candidates, of course, advise with the chairmen of the national committees on these issues.

The essential task of the chairman, therefore, continues to be the problem of getting out the vote. Through various agencies at his command he makes repeated surveys of conditions in every state; confers with national committeemen and committeewomen; state chairmen and the leaders of various groups of voters.

In every campaign independent clubs spring up, together with organizations that have no official connection with the regular party political machines. The work of these independent groups and the work of the regular party organizations must be co-ordinated and kept in harmony. Experienced campaign directors always welcome the support of independent groups, but they look upon them as an army commander looks upon volunteer troops, always wishing to have working with them, as seasoned troops, the experienced political workers—state chairmen, county chairmen, district, precinct and ward leaders—who know from long experience how to meet emergencies in the heat of a campaign and how to harmonize conflicting elements within the ranks.

The veteran campaign manager knows that his greatest reliance in the long run is the established organization of his party, with all its ramifications, for it is this organization which works year in and year out and which almost invariably has the most valuable information about the voters and how to appeal to them.

Campaign Expenses

With the growth of the country and the coming of the primary system, the cost of carrying on a Presidential campaign, counting only those expenditures which the most scrupulous would recognize as necessary, has increased tremendously in recent years. State, local, county, ward and precinct committees must be furnished with thousands of pieces of literature; with nationally known speakers, if they call for them, and nearly always must be helped out with funds from the national committee treasury to help pay for clerk hire, advertising, publicity and travel expenses.

Continued on next page

The state committees usually finance their own campaigns for state officers, but are accustomed to call upon the national committee to defray most of the expenses incident to campaigning for the Presidential candidate. The chairman of the national committee must, therefore, keep so well informed concerning conditions in every state that he will know when and where to spend money and how much to spend.

The Speakers' Bureau

Ordinarily the principal bureaus of the national campaign headquarters are the speakers' bureau and the publicity bureau. It is the task of the speakers' bureau to sign up men of national prominence in the party to make speeches at important gatherings in all parts of the country, particularly in those sections where there is a hard fight. He has to consult with state chairmen and to find out which speakers on his list are in demand in different sections. Often there are certain public characters, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers, or Governors, who have a universal appeal and are consequently in demand everywhere. Since they cannot cover the entire country in the course of the campaign the head of the speakers' bureau is called upon to use judgment and tact in making their speaking engagements.

The development of the radio has reduced the perplexities of the speakers' bureau to a certain extent, since it carries the voices of nationally prominent speakers all over the country, but in spite of this men and women voters everywhere still yearn for a look at the "big guns" of their party.

The Publicity Bureau

Under the head of the publicity bureau come a number of enormous tasks when the short time he has in which to

organize and get into action is taken into consideration. Not only must he see to it that the daily news of the candidate and the campaign committee are made available to the scores of newspaper correspondents who "cover" the campaign, but he must arrange to supply the daily demand for special articles for magazines and Sunday newspapers; must supervise the paid advertising; get out the thousands of leaflets, posters and fact material for use and distribution by speakers and local campaign managers throughout the country; take care of newspaper photographers, news reel photographers and radio announcers and be constantly on the alert to utilize all methods of disseminating information about the candidate.

The Women's Division

Since the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, granting suffrage to women in every state, the national committee has become a fifty-fifty affair between the men and the women. The women's division is now headed by a woman who is vice-chairman of the national committee and under her come duplicate bureaus of the men's division, each with a woman at its head. Their experiences of the past few years have brought out of the ranks of the women some of the most astute politicians in the country.

To sum up the task of the national committee and its chairman during the campaign, it comes down, not so much to the matter of building a new organization as it does to tuning up an organization which already exists. With a few changes in personnel since the previous national campaign, the national committee and the state committees are intact. It is the duty of the chairman of the national committee to see that the existing machines are oiled and shoved into high speed for the four months of the campaign.

Officers of the National Committees—1928

OFFICERS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman: Hubert Work.

Vice-Chairmen:

Ralph E. Williams, Mrs. Alvin T. Hert,
Daniel E. Pomeroy.

Secretary: Franklin Fort.

Treasurer: J. R. Nutt.

Executive Committee:

Hubert Work, *Chairman (ex-officio)*.
Ralph E. Williams, *Vice-Chairman (ex-officio)*.
Mrs. Alvin T. Hert, *Vice-Chairman (ex-officio)*.
Daniel E. Pomeroy, *Vice-Chairman (ex-officio)*.

Franklin Fort, *Secretary (ex-officio)*.

J. R. Nutt, *Treasurer (ex-officio)*.

Mrs. Grace Semple Burlingham	Maurice Maschke
Mrs. O. P. Clark	David W. Mulvane
Miss Dorothy Cunningham	J. Henry Roraback
Mrs. Manley Fosseen	Mrs. Worthington Scranton
Mrs. Guy P. Gannett	W. G. Skelly
Clarence C. Hamlin	Patrick Sullivan
Charles D. Hilles	Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer
Earle S. Kinsley	Miss Bina M. West
Miss Martha McClure	Mrs. Ellis A. Yost

OFFICERS OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Chairman: John J. Raskob.

Vice-Chairmen:

Mrs. Nellie Tayloe Ross, Frank Hague, Harry F. Byrd,
Mrs. Florence Farley, Scott Ferris.

Secretary: Charles A. Greathouse.

Treasurer: James W. Gerard.

Sergeant-at-Arms: Edwin A. Hasley.

Executive Committee:

John J. Raskob, *Chairman*.

Peter G. Gerry,	Mrs. Henry Moskowitz
James J. Hoey	Franklin D. Roosevelt
Herbert H. Lehman	George R. Van Namee

Advisory Committee:

John J. Raskob, *ex-officio*.

Peter G. Gerry, *Chairman*.

Parker Corning	Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
Pat Harrison	Jouett Shouse
J. Bruce Kremer	Millard E. Tydings
	William A. Oldfield

Voting in the 1928 Elections

Voters' Qualifications Fixed by State Laws—Various Provisions Covering Tests of Voters

Conditions Governing Exercise of Suffrage—Rules for Registry and Absentee Voting

By Simon Michelet



ALL general elections in the United States—even of President, U. S. Senators and Representatives—are held under State election laws. The foundations of the American ballot, therefore, are: First, the respective State constitutions governing suffrage and defining the qualifications of voters; and, second, the State registration acts providing for lists of voters legally qualified for the ballot in the respective polling places.

No vote can be cast for President and Congress until the voters have complied with the provisions of the State Constitutions and have been duly registered according to State election laws governing registry. Sometimes the registry basis is the poll tax list, or property tax list. Again, the suffrage registry may take the form of the town "check list," as in New England. Registry also may have as its basis the last poll list, as in the rural sections of the Middle West and other sections. Registry, moreover, may be a fundamental part of the State constitution, covering the entire subject of legal residence, literacy, taxation, with fixed dates for personal registration as in many Southern, New England, and Middle Atlantic States, and many of the larger cities East and West. But whatever the particular method of listing qualified voters, this holds—that the foundation of the American ballot is, first, the State Constitution which declares who can register, and, second, the State registry system which lists legally qualified voters; and, votes cannot be cast except in compliance therewith.

State Constitutions

The study of American election problems begins, therefore, with an examination of State constitutions governing suffrage and the registration acts pursuant thereto.

In the majority of States the length of residence necessary to qualify a voter to register approximates the following: Residence in the State 1 year, in the county 6 months, in the voting precinct 30 days.

In our Southern States—Alabama, Louisiana, South Carolina, and Virginia—residence required in the State is 2 years and in the county 1 year. Election provisions in these States appear to contemplate a settled voting population. Minimum inducements are made to newcomers or those inclined to move.

On the other hand, a number of States, mostly Western, hold out suffrage inducements to newcomers. In Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, and Oregon, residence in the State in order to qualify a voter is only 6 months. Maine leads the other States in this regard—requiring only 3 months residence in the State. The State of Washington has a unique basis of voting citi-

zenship—residence in State 11 months and 10 days, in county 70 days, in voting precinct 10 days.

Literacy Tests

Literacy tests are applied to qualify for registry in 16 States: Alabama, Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Oregon, South Carolina, Virginia, Wyoming. Classified by geographic section the 16 States imposing a literacy test as a necessary qualification to vote are—7 Southern, 6 Northeastern and 3 Western. The literacy test may be ability to read without aid a section of the State constitution and write one's name, as in Arizona, Delaware, Maine, Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Ability to read and write any section of the State constitution is required in Georgia, North and South Carolina. In Connecticut, the voter must be able to read and write any 3 lines of the constitution or statutes in the English language. In Mississippi, the voter may be able to read or understand any section when read to him. In Virginia, he must read or understand, and also write his registry answers. In Alabama, he must read and write, and understand any section of the constitution before registering. In Louisiana, New York, Oregon and Wyoming, it is sufficient to be able to read and write English—except in Louisiana the voter must show that he understands the constitution and the duties of citizenship.

"Moral Character" Tests

In several of the original 13 States, as in Connecticut, the voter must have a "good moral character." The Connecticut definition of "good moral character," as provided in Chapter 305 of the Public Acts of 1921, bars an "elector who has, during his minority, been convicted three or more times of any offense punishable by the laws of this State with imprisonment, or with fine and imprisonment; or who has, within 12 months before reaching his majority, been convicted of any offense mentioned in section three of article six of the constitution; or who, at the time of reaching his majority, was serving a term in jail or prison for any such offense. No idiot or insane person shall be admitted as an elector." Miscegenation is a bar to suffrage in Georgia and South Carolina.

Payment of Taxes

Payment of poll taxes or other taxes is a condition precedent to registry and voting in 14 States—9 Southern and border States, 4 New England or other Eastern. These 14 include Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Usually the taxes are required to be paid six months or more before election to avoid the danger of candidates and committees buying votes by paying taxes.

Under the Pennsylvania Constitution, a voter 22 years of age must show tax receipts for two years to be entitled to suffrage. In Rhode Island a property tax of \$1 entitles the voter to registry. In some Southern States all back taxes must be paid before voting. In Arkansas, Florida, Maine, Massachusetts, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia, poll taxes only are mandatory before registering, and form the basis of the registration. The above 14 States make tax-paying a prerequisite to voting in the primary and general elections. Many other States have tax-paying requirements to qualify

for voting on city and other local tax and debt questions.

Property Owning

Property owning is an alternative requirement for the literacy test in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina and Virginia. In Rhode Island an estate worth \$134, if taxes paid, insures the voter permanent registry. A similar provision in the original Connecticut Constitution is now amended by reducing the requirement to a literacy test. In Massachusetts the ownership of property on which taxes are paid insures a registry, but is not a mandatory requirement. Rhode Island, therefore, would seem to be the only State where property is the *sine qua non* of suffrage—though the requirement is small and the tax burden light.

Provisions of Existing State Laws Covering Qualifications of Voters



NDIANA appears to be the only State in the Union in 1928 that has no registration law. At the 1927 Indiana legislative session, both the registration law and the absent voter law were repealed.

This does not mean, however, that registration is general throughout the territory and voting precincts of the other 47 States. That is far from the case. In some States registration is required only in cities, or given cities. In many States, registry can be made under constitutional or statutory provisions, or under court decisions, on election day.

There are States where registry is only a gesture. This may be the case in a State where the constitution reads something like this: "No power, civil or military, shall ever abridge the right to vote." Under such a constitution, and they are many, if the constitution does not elsewhere expressly authorize the legislature to regulate elections by a registry act, the courts usually hold that the unregistered voter can demand registry and a ballot on election day—the statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

Registry by Affidavit

Frequently, State legislatures, recognizing the constitutional right to vote, have provided for registry and voting by *affidavit on election day*. The registry act to be effective requires constitutional authority. It will be noted that a majority of the States having drastic registration laws first lay the foundation in an article of the State Constitution.

In New England, registration since colonial days takes the form of the town "Check List of Voters." Annually the town board meets and goes over the last year's check list—striking off those who have died, or been convicted, or moved away, or otherwise have lost their franchise, and adds the names of new voters. The revised list is then posted and an opportunity given for any citizen whose name is omitted to appear and be heard as to his right to go on the check list of voters.

Listing Voters in the South

Similar methods of listing voters prevail in the South—except in the South the county is the local political unit, instead of the town as in New England. Usually, though a few of the older States are exceptions, the voting list is a tax-paying list.

These voting lists of the original 13 States, inherited from colonial times and supported by State constitutions, represent the ancestry of the registration acts of 47 States. But occasionally one of the newer States drafts a registration act

without laying the necessary constitutional basis. Hence the many decisions of State Supreme Courts affirming the right of the unregistered voter to vote by affidavit on election day.

State-Wide Registration Laws

In 35 of the 48 States the registration law, or its equivalent poll list, "check list," or tax list, applies to the entire State in one form or another. New York has a combination form ranging from biennial personal registration in New York City to poll lists in the country. The poll tax is the basis of general registration in Arkansas, Tennessee, Texas, and takes the place of a formal general registration act. In Rhode Island the property tax is the registration basis, and in Pennsylvania there is a combination of these methods—poll tax, property tax, personal registration in cities. But in one form or another, there is a general pre-election registry of all citizens within the boundaries of the given State, who are presumed to be legally entitled to vote, in 35 States, follows: New England: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont—largely on the "check list" basis. Middle Atlantic: New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, West Virginia. South Atlantic: Florida, Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia. Gulf and Border: Alabama, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas. Middle West: Michigan, South Dakota. Mountain and Pacific: Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

City Voters

Some of the above States have a city registration differing in method from that of the country districts. Biennial personal registration may be required of city voters, whereas a poll list made up by the county or precinct board, with registration of added names at each successive election, may be the basis for rural districts. Permanent registration with biennial purging is the present trend of registration States, instead of a general reregistration.

Most of the Middle Western States and a few others apply the registry law to cities or incorporated towns of a given population. The method of registry may vary according to size of municipality. States that limit the application of registry laws to cities or incorporated towns are 12 in number, as follows:

Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, North Dakota, Ohio, Wisconsin.

Personal Registration

Personal registration biennially by the voter visiting the registry office for reregistration at every general election is required in a few States, and in that event such personal reregistration may be largely restricted to the larger cities. Biennial personal registration occurs in Arizona, California, Florida (certain cities); Illinois (Chicago), Maryland (Baltimore), New York, Ohio (cities over 100,000), Pennsylvania (1st, 2d, and 3d class cities), Rhode Island, Washington, West Virginia.

Quadrennial registration in Presidential election years occurs in Illinois (cities under 200,000), Iowa, Kansas (cities over 80,000), Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio (cities under 100,000), Washington (outside of cities).

The 1928 registrations, covering the various classes of State registry, biennial, quadrennial and permanent, but not including poll-tax registry, include the following:

Arizona, California, Florida (certain cities), Idaho (new perm. registry), Iowa, Kansas (cities over 80,000), Maryland (Baltimore), Michigan (cities over 5,000), Minnesota (certain towns), New Jersey (new general registration), New York (cities over 5,000), Ohio (all cities over 11,800), Pennsylvania (cities of 1st, 2d, and 3d class), Rhode Island (non-property owners), Washington, West Virginia (by visitation of county registrars).

Poll Tax Registry

A poll-tax registry is required in the following States in 1928 by the usual payment to the tax collector:

Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Maine, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, while Rhode Island collects a property tax of \$1 or over.

Permanent registry, either by a so-called registration act, or by poll list or town "check list"—provided that taxes are paid in States so providing as above, and also provided that the voter's name is kept on the poll and registry list by voting regularly—prevails in a majority of the States, if we include the permanent registrations of 1928, as witness:

Alabama, Arkansas, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware,

Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas (except certain cities), Kentucky, Maine, Maryland (except Baltimore), Minnesota (except certain towns), Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York (not N. Y. City), North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Permanent Registry

There is no such thing as "permanent registry" for any voter who neglects his electoral duties and does not live up to the constitutional and statutory requirements.

In New England his name may be dropped from the "check list" if he neglects his duty to vote and pay his taxes.

In poll-tax States, North and South, his name will be missing from the voting list unless his poll taxes are paid, perhaps six months before election.

In Pennsylvania and Rhode Island the only permanently registered voters are those who can show tax receipts.

Failure to vote, if persisted in, takes the voter's name off the "permanent registry" in most of the States of the Union.

In short, the only "permanently registered" voter is he or she who, besides the qualifications of 21 years of age and established legal residence, keeps out of jail, pays taxes as required, and goes to the polls and votes on election day.

Penalty for Non-Registration

Difficulty in meeting these requirements and neglect of duties essential to registration are thought to account for doubtless over half of the so-called "Stay-at-Home Vote." The American ballot problem—a 50 per cent vote at elections—meets its first and perhaps most serious obstacle in the various forms of registry. The largest factor in the "Stay-at-Home" class is the unregistered. When election day arrives, the voter finds himself outside of the registry pale. That is to say, when the town or county board makes up its lists of voters from last year's poll list or tax list, it does not find his name written there. Thus he drops from the "Voting List" to join the great army of "Stay-at-Homes."

Absentee Voting

A majority of the states have some type of absentee voting law under which their citizens are permitted to vote by mail. Some permit registry by mail also, but a number require personal registration. Others have absentee voting laws which permit voting by mail only within the state.

Several states grant only soldiers and sailors in the U. S. or state military and naval service the right to vote when away from home.

If the state grants the right to vote by mail, but requires registration in person in the home precinct before the election, the absentee may be faced by the same problem as if there were no absentee voting privilege. Going home to register may be just as difficult as to go home to vote.

Registration by Mail

Some of the states requiring registration do not require re-registration in every election. The growing custom in many of the states is to provide for permanent registration, so that when a voter is listed as a qualified voter in a precinct and casts his ballot biennially, either in person or by mail, he is not required to re-register at each biennial election.

The most complete system of absentee voting, in effect in about one-third of the states, is that where the state election

laws authorize both registration and balloting by mailed affidavit.

The Soldier Vote During World War

It was the patriotic stimulus of the World War that started the ball rolling among state legislatures to grant voting rights to soldier absentees. Doubtless, of the 4,000,000 enrolled under American colors either at home or abroad, there were 1,000,000 to 2,000,000 voters. Almost every state in the Union leaped to the opportunity to preserve to these men in arms their chief prerogative as an American citizen—the right to vote.

It was only a short step, from the provision extending the right to soldiers and men in naval service, to the next provision—including all qualified voters in public service generally. Then students, teachers, railroad employees, commercial travelers, workmen and finally, all qualified voters compelled to be absent from home on duty or business, were deemed just as much entitled to the voting rights of an American citizen as the stay-at-homes. Some states repealed their absentee voting laws after the Armistice, but the present trend appears to be toward an extension of the voting-by-mail privilege.

The Electors and the Electoral College

How Provisions of Constitution Are Carried Out

Apportionment of Electors—Vote by States—Counting the Vote—Contests



HE political activities already described—important as they are in the selection of the President and Vice-President—are wholly unknown to the Constitution. In the first place, the Constitution contemplates a system of indirect election: each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the number of Senators and Representatives to which the commonwealth is entitled in Congress. To remove the electors from any direct contact with the Federal Government, it was added that no Senator or Representative or a person holding any office of trust under the United States should be appointed an elector.

It is to be noted that the electors of each state are to be chosen as the legislature thereof may determine and in the course of our history no less than three distinct methods have been devised. (1) In the beginning, it was often the practice for the state legislatures themselves to choose the electors; but within a quarter of a century the majority of them had abandoned this practice in favor of popular election. (2) Where this system was adopted it was often the custom at first to have two electors chosen by the voters of the state at large and the remaining electors chosen by Congressional districts—thus each voter would have the right to vote for three electors, two at large and one from his own district. (3) It was at length discovered that a state's influence in national politics was greatly increased if all of its electors could be carried by one party or the other, and consequently the system of election by district has been abandoned, in favor of election by general ticket throughout the state at large.

Apportionment of Electors to States

It is necessary, accordingly, for each party in each state to prepare a list of candidates equal to the total number of electors to which that particular commonwealth is entitled.

On election day, therefore, the voter does not vote directly for President and Vice-President, although for his information the names of the candidates of all parties appear on the ballot. On the contrary, if he votes a straight ticket, he simply votes for the entire list of electors put forward by his party. There is no point at all in splitting the vote for Presidential electors. What happens, therefore, on a general Presidential election day is the choice in each state of a certain number of Presidential electors—531 in all. Normally the party which secured a plurality of votes in any state is entitled to all of the electoral votes of that state for President and Vice-President, no matter how large the minority. No elector would dare to break faith with the party which placed him in nomination, and vote for the candidates of the opposite party. Consequently, the deliberative, judicial, non-partisan system designed by the framers of the Constitution has been overthrown by party practice.

It is sometimes held that through this party practice we have secured popular election of President and Vice-President, but if we mean by popular election, choice by majority or plurality vote throughout the United States, it has not

been attained as yet. Indeed, several of our Presidents have been elected by a minority of the popular vote.

Vote by States

This possible contingency of election by a minority of the popular vote cast is due to the fact that when a party carries a state, no matter by how slight a margin, it secures all of the Presidential electors to which that commonwealth is entitled. A party, therefore, that wins, although by narrow margins, in a sufficient number of states to obtain a majority of the electors may in fact poll a smaller number of votes than the opposing party which may have carried its states by enormous majorities.

The practice of giving the entire electoral vote of a state to the party that has won at the polls, even by the slightest majority, has another significant effect. It concentrates the campaign principally in the states that are counted as "close" and are liable to swing to either party in the election. The importance of carrying these pivotal states leads campaign managers to employ in each of them every art of winning votes known to practical politics.

The Electoral College

The methods by which the electors so chosen in each state shall meet and cast their votes are prescribed in the Constitution and in federal and state statutes. It is provided by federal law that the electors of each commonwealth shall convene on the second Monday of January, immediately following their appointment, at such place as the legislature of the state may direct—in practice, the state capital. When they have assembled, the electors vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, that is, for the two candidates nominated by their party. They thereupon make distinct lists of the number of votes so cast, and sign, certify, seal and transmit the lists to the president of the Senate of the United States. With the lists of their votes for President and Vice-President, the electors must transmit their certificates of election as evidence of their power to act—evidence of crucial importance in case of contested elections. When they have cast their votes and transmitted their documents according to law, the electors have performed their whole duty. They are not paid by the Federal Government, but are regarded as state officers, and must look to the state legislature for remuneration for their services.

Counting the Electoral Vote

The counting of the total electoral vote polled throughout the United States begins in the Hall of the House of Representatives on the second Wednesday in February, following the meeting of the electors in their respective states. It is conducted in the presence of the Senate and the House of Representatives with the president of the Senate in the chair. Two tellers are appointed by the Senate and two by the House of Representatives. The certificates and documents are opened by the president of the Senate, taking the states in alphabetical order, beginning with Alabama, and

thereupon handed to the tellers who read the same and list the votes. The candidates having the greatest number of votes for President and Vice-President respectively, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, are declared duly elected. Except in case of a contested election, this count is, of course, merely an impressive formality, for the result is ordinarily known three months before.

In Case No Presidential Candidate Receives a Majority

In case no candidate for President receives a majority of all the electoral votes cast, the House of Representatives thereupon chooses the President by ballot from the three candidates who have received the highest number of votes. It should be noted, however, that, in selecting the President, each state represented in the House is entitled to only one vote; a quorum consists of the members from two-thirds of the states; and a majority of all the states is necessary to choice. Accordingly, the vote of each state for the Presidential candidate must be determined by the majority of the Representatives of the commonwealth in the House. In

case of the failure of the House to choose a President (whenver the election devolves upon that body) before the fourth of March following, it becomes the duty of the Vice-President to act as President.

There have been only two instances of Presidential elections by the House of Representatives—Jefferson in 1801 and John Quincy Adams in 1825. This is due, of course, to the fact that we have two great political parties somewhat equally balanced. If the votes were broken into several parties the election would more often devolve upon the House.

In Case No Vice-Presidential Candidate Receives Majority

Whenever no candidate for Vice-President receives a majority of all the electoral votes, the election is thrown into the Senate, and the Senators voting as individuals must choose the Vice-President from the two candidates having the highest number of votes. Two-thirds of the whole number of the Senators constitute a quorum for this purpose, and a majority of the whole number is necessary to a choice. —Extracts. "American Government and Politics", by Charles A. Beard.

Vote in the Electoral College—1924

Republican (Coolidge)—Arizona, 3; California, 13; Colorado, 6; Connecticut, 7; Delaware, 3; Idaho, 4; Illinois, 29; Indiana, 15; Iowa, 13; Kansas, 10; Kentucky, 13; Maine, 6; Maryland, 8; Massachusetts, 18; Michigan, 15; Minnesota, 12; Missouri, 18; Montana, 4; Nebraska, 8; Nevada, 3; New Hampshire, 4; New Jersey, 14; New York, 45; New Mexico, 3; North Dakota, 5; Ohio, 24; Oregon, 5; Pennsylvania, 38; Rhode Island, 5; South Dakota, 5; Utah, 4; Vermont, 4; Washington, 7; West Virginia, 8; Wyoming, 3. Total—382.

Democratic (Davis)—Alabama, 12; Arkansas, 9; Florida, 6; Georgia, 14; Louisiana, 10; Mississippi, 10; North Carolina, 12; Oklahoma, 10; South Carolina, 9; Tennessee, 12; Texas, 20; Virginia, 12. Total—136.

Progressive (LaFollette)—Wisconsin, 13.

Republican Total..... 382
Democratic Total..... 136
Progressive Total..... 13

Total..... 531

Presidential Vote of 1924 by States and Political Parties

State	Rep.	Dem.	Prog.	Other	Total	State	Rep.	Dem.	Prog.	Other	Total
Alabama.....	45,005	112,966	8,084	569	166,624	Nevada.....	11,243	5,909	9,769	...	26,921
Arizona.....	30,516	26,235	17,210	...	73,961	New Hampshire.....	98,575	57,201	8,993	...	164,769
Arkansas.....	40,564	84,795	13,173	...	138,532	New Jersey.....	676,277	298,043	109,028	4,706	1,083,054
California.....	733,250	105,514	424,649	18,365	1,281,778	New York.....	1,820,058	950,796	474,905	18,172	3,263,931
Colorado.....	195,171	75,238	69,945	1,906	342,260	New Mexico.....	54,745	48,542	9,543	...	112,830
Connecticut.....	46,322	110,184	42,416	1,373	400,295	North Carolina.....	191,753	284,270	6,651	13	482,687
Delaware.....	52,441	33,445	4,979	20	90,885	North Dakota.....	94,931	13,858	89,922	370	199,081
Florida.....	30,633	62,083	8,625	7,813	109,154	Ohio.....	1,176,130	477,888	357,948	4,271	2,016,237
Georgia.....	30,300	123,200	12,691	386	166,577	Oklahoma.....	226,242	255,798	41,141	5,234	528,415
Idaho.....	69,879	24,256	54,160	...	148,295	Oregon.....	142,579	67,589	68,403	917	279,488
Illinois.....	1,453,321	576,975	432,037	7,744	2,470,077	Pennsylvania.....	1,401,481	409,192	307,567	26,479	2,144,719
Indiana.....	703,042	492,245	71,700	5,403	1,272,390	Rhode Island.....	125,286	76,606	7,628	595	210,115
Iowa.....	537,635	162,600	272,243	4,482	976,960	South Carolina.....	1,123	49,008	620	...	50,751
Kansas.....	407,671	156,319	98,461	...	662,451	South Dakota.....	101,299	27,214	75,355	...	203,868
Kentucky.....	398,966	374,855	38,465	3,046	815,332	Tennessee.....	130,882	158,537	10,656	200	300,275
Louisiana.....	24,670	93,218	4,063	...	121,951	Texas.....	130,023	484,605	42,881	...	657,509
Maine.....	138,440	41,964	11,382	406	192,192	Utah.....	77,327	47,001	32,662	...	156,990
Maryland.....	162,414	148,072	47,157	987	358,630	Vermont.....	80,498	16,124	5,964	326	102,912
Massachusetts.....	703,489	280,831	141,284	4,311	1,129,915	Virginia.....	73,359	139,797	10,379	191	223,726
Michigan.....	874,631	152,359	122,014	11,415	1,160,419	Washington.....	220,224	42,842	150,727	7,756	421,549
Minnesota.....	420,759	55,913	339,192	6,282	822,146	West Virginia.....	288,635	257,232	36,723	1,072	583,662
Mississippi.....	8,546	100,475	3,494	...	112,515	Wisconsin.....	311,614	68,115	453,678	7,419	840,826
Missouri.....	648,286	572,753	84,160	2,586	1,307,985	Wyoming.....	41,858	12,868	25,174	...	79,900
Montana.....	74,138	33,805	65,876	604	174,423						
Nebraska.....	218,585	137,289	106,701	1,594	464,169	United States.....	15,725,016	8,386,624	4,830,478	157,013	29,099,131

Mr. Smith States His Position

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A complete survey and study of the remaining undeveloped public resources of land, coal, oil and other minerals is greatly needed and should be undertaken.

I also pledge myself to give the same continuing interest and support to a national park, reforestation and recreation program as have brought about the establishment of a great conservation and state park system in the state of New York.

The reasonable contentment of those who toil with the conditions under which they live and work is an essential basis of the nation's well-being.

The Democratic party has always recognized this fact and under the administration of Woodrow Wilson a large body of progressive legislation for the protection of those laboring in industry was enacted.

It was inevitable that our platform should further recognize grave abuses in the issuance of injunctions in labor disputes which threaten the very principle of collective bargaining.

The Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate has already in progress a careful study of this situation. I promise full co-operation to the end that a definite remedy by law be brought forth to end the existing evils and preserve the constitutional guarantees of individual liberty, free assemblage and speech and the rights of peaceful persuasion.

Public Health

Promotion of proper care of maternity, infancy and childhood and the encouragement of those scientific activities of the national government which advance the safeguards of public health are so fundamental as to need no expression from me other than my record as legislator and as governor.

None can question my respect for and co-operation with the Civil Service nor my interest in proper compensation for government service. I believe in that true equality of women that opens to them without restriction all avenues of opportunity for which they can qualify in business, in government service and in politics.

I have a full appreciation of what this country owes to our veteran soldiers. I know that when the country called the veteran came promptly. When the veteran in distress calls to the country, the country should be equally prompt. Red tape and technicalities and autocratic bureaucracy should be brushed aside when the time comes for a grateful American people to recognize its debt to the men who offered themselves in our hour of need.

Immigration

Every race has made its contribution to the betterment of America. While I stand squarely on our platform declaration that the laws which limit immigration must be preserved in full force and effect, I am heartily in favor of removing from the immigration law the harsh provision which separates families, and I am opposed to the principle of restriction based upon the figures of immigrant population contained in a census thirty-eight years old. I believe this is designed to discriminate against certain nationalities, and is an unwise policy.

To me one of the greatest elements of satisfaction in my nomination is the fact that I owe it to no one man or set of men. I can with complete honesty make the statement that my nomination was brought about by no promise given or implied by me or anyone in my behalf. I will not be influenced in appointments by the question of a person's wet or dry attitude, by whether he is rich or poor, whether he comes from the North, South, East or West, or by what

church he attends in the worship of God. The sole standard of my appointments will be the same as they have been in my governorship—integrity of the man or woman and his or her ability to give me the greatest possible aid in devoted service to the people.

In this spirit I enter upon the campaign. I shall endeavor to conduct this campaign on the high plane that befits the intelligence of our citizens.

Victory, simply for the sake of achieving it, is empty. I am entirely satisfied of our success in November because I am sure we are right and therefore sure that our victory means progress for our nation. I am convinced of the wisdom of our platform. I pledge a complete devotion to the welfare of our country and our people. I place that welfare above every other consideration and I am satisfied that our party is in a position to promote it. To that end I here and now declare to my fellow countrymen from one end of the United States to the other that I will dedicate myself with all the power and energy that I possess to the service of our great Republic.

Of great importance and still in a highly undeveloped state are our transportation routes by waterways. Controversy has arisen over the relative merits of the St. Lawrence route or the all-American route. As Governor of New York, I have heretofore expressed a preference for the all-American route, basing my view on engineers' reports made to me. The correctness of these reports and also of those favoring the St. Lawrence route has been challenged. As President of the United States, therefore, it would be my clear duty to restudy this question impartially upon engineers' reports the accuracy of which must be above question. When the results of such a study are given to Congress I am entirely willing to abide by the decision of Congress.

The Mississippi flood of last year brought home to the nation the imperative need for a national policy of flood control.

Flood Control

Forethought, courage and leadership and knowledge of what real ultimate economy means would have done much to prevent this calamity with its ensuing waste and misery. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of first-aid and relief. In the last Congress the Reid-Jones bill laid down sound lines for the solution of this great problem. The policy thus initiated for the Mississippi must be carried through. The money actually appropriated for flood relief is too small to make even a start. Too much time has been spent in squabbling over who shall pay the bill.

Fulllest development of the Mississippi River and its tributaries as arteries of commerce should be the goal.

I pledge myself to a progressive liberal conservation policy based upon the same principles to which I have given my support in the state of New York.

As against propaganda, it is the duty of the Democratic party to set up truth. The ownership of some of the great water powers is in the nation, of others in the several states. These sources of water power must remain forever under public ownership and control. Where they are owned by the Federal Government, they should remain under Federal control. Where they are owned by an individual state, they should be under the control of that state, or where they are owned by states jointly, they should be under the control of those states.

Wherever the development, the government agency, state or federal, must retain through contractual agreement with

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Senate and House Campaign Committees



In addition to being a "Presidential Year," the year 1928 also marks the regular biennial election of the entire membership of the House of Representatives and the election of one-third of the membership of the Senate. Members of the House are elected for terms of two years and Senators for terms of six years.

Special campaign committees of both major political parties assist in the campaigns for the House and for the Senate. These committees are composed chiefly of Members of the House and Senate, respectively, although the committees have officials and members who are not in either branch of Congress.

Their work is similar to that of the National Committees except that they devote their entire attention to their separate fields. The Senate campaign committees have to do entirely with the election or re-election of Senators and those of the House confine their efforts to the election or re-election of Representatives.

Both the Republican and Democratic House campaign committees remain intact from year to year and maintain permanent headquarters in Washington.

The Senatorial campaign committees remain organized, but are rarely active between the biennial election of one-third of the membership of the Senate. According to custom, a Senatorial campaign committee always has for its chairman a Senator who is not up for re-election. The principal officers of these committees are given below:

House Campaign Committee 1928

Chairman

William R. Wood, Ind.

Vice-Chairmen

1st, John Q. Tilson, Conn.

2nd, Addison T. Smith, Idaho

3rd, Harry M. Wurzbach, Tex.

Executive Committee

John Q. Tilson, Conn.

George S. Graham, Pa.

Robert L. Bacon, N. Y.

Frank H. Foss, Mass.

C. Ellis Moore, O.

W. Frank James, Mich.

C. William Ramseyer, Ia.

James G. Strong, Kan.

Charles B. Timberlake, Colo.

Addison T. Smith, Idaho

Charles F. Curry, Calif.

Maurice H. Thatcher, Ky.

Harry M. Wurzbach, Tex.

Frederick R. Lehlbach, N. J.

Carl R. Chindblom, Ill.

Secretary

Edward H. Wason, N. H.

Executive Secretary

Earl Venable, Idaho

Chief Clerk

T. C. Meeker, N. J.

Treasurer

Robert V. Fleming, D. C.

Chairman

William A. Oldfield, Ark.

Vice-Chairmen

1st, Clarence F. Lea, Calif.

2nd, J. Charles Linthicum, Md.

3rd, John J. Kindred, N. Y.

Executive Committee

A. B. Rouse, Ky., Chmn.

Adolph J. Sabath, Ill.

Carl Hayden, Ariz.

Patrick H. Drewry, Va.

Ralph F. Lozier, Mo.

Women's Executive Com.

Mrs. Eleanore Bailey Johnson, Ohio.

Mrs. Gladys Estelle Magill, Calif.

Mrs. Edward F. Parker, Kan.

Mrs. Geo. M. Gaither, Md.

Mrs. Hiram P. Maxim, Conn.

Mrs. Henry D. Flood, D. C.

Financial Committee

Edward W. Pou, N. C., Chmn.

A. J. Sabath, Ill.

Harry C. Canfield, Ind.

Oscar L. Auf Dere Hide, N. J.

Chairman Speakers' Bureau

J. V. McClintic, Okla.

Secretary

Jeremiah E. O'Connell, R.

Executive Secretary

Ralph R. Roberts, Ind.

Treasurer

Robert N. Harper, D. C.

Sergeant-at-Arms

Joseph J. Sinnott, Va.

Senate Campaign Committee 1928

Republican

Sen. Jesse H. Metcalf, R. I., Chm.

Sen. Charles S. Deneen, Ill., Vice-Chm.

Sen. Lawrence C. Phipps, Colo.

Sen. W. B. Pine, Okla.

Sen. Charles L. McNary, Oreg.

Sen. Arthur Capper, Kans.

Sen. Frederick H. Gillett, Mass.

C. B. Frye, Secretary

Democratic

Sen. Millard E. Tydings, Md., Chm.

Sen. Robert F. Wagner, N. Y., Treas.

Sen. Claude A. Swanson, Va., Chmn. Spk. Bu.

Sen. Thomas J. Walsh, Mont.

Sen. Harry B. Hawes, Mo.

Sen. Carl Hayden, Ariz.

Sen. Alben W. Barkley, Ky.

Col. Edwin A. Halsey, Va., Sec.

Senators up for Reelection, 1928

State	Name	Party	State	Name	Party
Arizona	Henry F. Ashurst	D.	New Jersey	Edward I. Edwards	D.
California	Hiram W. Johnson	R.	New Mexico	Andrieus A. Jones	D.
Connecticut	George P. McLean	R.	New York	Royal S. Copeland	D.
Delaware	Thomas F. Bayard	D.	North Dakota	Lynn J. Frazier	R.
Florida	Park Trammell	D.	Ohio	Simeon D. Fess	R.
Indiana	Arthur Robinson	R.	Pennsylvania	David A. Reed	R.
Maine	Frederick Hale	R.	Rhode Island	Peter G. Gerry	D.
Maryland	William Cabell Bruce	D.	Tennessee	Kenneth McKellar	D.
Massachusetts	David I. Walsh	D.	Texas	Earle B. Mayfield	D.
Michigan	Woodbridge N. Ferris	D.	Utah	William H. King	D.
Minnesota	Henrik Shipstead	F.-L.	Virginia	Claude A. Swanson	D.
Mississippi	Hubert D. Stephens	D.	Vermont	Frank L. Greene	R.
Missouri	James A. Reed*	D.	Washington	C. C. Dill	D.
Montana	Burton K. Wheeler	D.	West Virginia	M. M. Neely	D.
Nebraska	Robert B. Howell	R.	Wisconsin	Robert M. LaFollette, Jr.	R.
Nevada	Key Pittman	D.	Wyoming	John B. Kendrick	D.

*Not a candidate.

Control of Campaign Expenditures



HE Federal law concerning the use of money in political campaigns that have to do with the election of members of the House and Senate and Presidents and Vice-Presidents is set forth in the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, which is part of the United States Statutes.

Under the provisions of this act the term "election" includes any general or special election for the House or Senate, but does not include primaries nor party conventions. The term "candidate" applies to any person whose name is presented for election as a member of either branch of Congress.

Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates are not specifically mentioned in the Act, but their campaigns for election are covered in the definition of the term "political committee," concerning which the act states:

"The term 'political committee' includes any committee, association or organization which accepts contributions or makes expenditures for the purpose of influencing or attempting to influence the election of candidates or Presidential or Vice-Presidential electors (1) in two or more states or (2) whether or not in more than one state, if such committee, association or organization (other than a duly organized state or local committee of a political party) is a branch or subsidiary of a national committee, association or organization."

Contributions and Gifts

The application of other terms in the act are described as follows:

"The term 'contribution' includes a gift, subscription, loan, advance, or deposit of money, or anything of value, and includes a contract, promise, or agreement, whether or not legally enforceable, to make an expenditure.

"The term 'person' includes an individual, partnership, committee, association, corporation, and any other organization or group of persons."

The act provides that every political committee shall have a chairman and a treasurer and that no contributions may be received nor expenditures made by a committee until a chairman and a treasurer are chosen. The treasurer is required to keep the names and addresses of all persons contributing and of all expenditures made above the amount of \$10 and keep his records for two years.

Complete Reports Must be Filed

Candidates for the Senate and their campaign committees must file, under oath, financial reports to the Secretary of the Senate at stated intervals up to within five days of the election. Candidates for the House and the committees handling the Presidential and Vice-Presidential campaigns must make similar reports to the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

In addition to the statements covering in detail the receipts and expenditures of money, the candidates and their committees must also file statements before election day of any pre-election promises or pledges they may have made relative to the appointment or recommendation for appointment of any person for the purpose of securing his support.

Limits of Expenditures

Unless the laws of his state prescribe a less amount, a candidate for the Senate may spend up to \$10,000 and a candidate for the House \$2500 or an amount "equal to the amount obtained by multiplying three cents by the total number of votes cast at the last general election for all candidates for the office which the candidate seeks, but in no event exceeding \$25,000 if a candidate for Senator or \$5000 for a candidate for Representative." There is no limit on the amount that may be spent in a Presidential campaign.

Certain expenses, including state assessment fees, personal, travel, subsistence, stationery, printing, mailing, telegraph and telephone, etc., are exempted.

National Banks and Corporations

National banks and corporations under Federal charter are expressly forbidden to contribute to political campaigns. The penalty is a fine of not more than \$5000 to the bank or corporation and a fine of \$1000 and a year's imprisonment, or both, for any officer approving the contribution.

The general penalty for violating any of the provisions of the act, other than that covering national banks and corporations, is \$1000 fine and a year in prison or both.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties in their platforms, pledge themselves to publicly account fully for every penny collected and spent.

Senator Charles Curtis
Continued from page 238

lican party has given, the agricultural situation would be infinitely worse than it is.

I am convinced that if a small joint committee of the House and Senate were appointed to study the problem and to find its proper solution, the necessary relief quickly could and would be afforded. The committee could be assisted in its task by the advice and experience of the most capable experts on the subject whose services can be obtained. The solution will be found, and found promptly.

Labor

In the early days, employees labored long hours amid insanitary conditions, and dangerous, unguarded machinery. The hours of labor have been reduced to eight where formerly they were ten and twelve. Immigration has been restricted sharply.

Law Enforcement

The Constitution of the United States is the keystone of our national strength, our pride in the hour of prosperity, our consolation and rallying point under every pressure of adversity; and whoever seriously wishes to preserve our Constitution in its full purity and vigor must of necessity wish to have all its articles and amendments honestly obeyed and faithfully enforced. The Republican party pledges itself to the faithful enforcement and vigorous execution of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

The Prohibition Amendment ultimately was adopted by all of the states except Connecticut and Rhode Island—not merely by the required three-fourths of the states, but by all except two. Through this voluntary action which binds all, the states delegated to the Federal Government their full original power and responsibility on the liquor prohibition question. The Federal Government accepted the power and responsibility so delegated, thereby binding itself, and, accordingly, Congress passed the Volstead Act. For the Federal Government now to adopt, or even to propose or to favor, a policy which will result in allowing each State to determine for itself the alcoholic content of beverages to be manufactured, sold and transported throughout the country, would be a direct and indefensible attempt on its part to evade or to repudiate the responsibility so delegated and assumed, and an endeavor to redelegate that responsibility to the several States from whence it came, without any justification for such action.

I believe in meeting an issue squarely, therefore I state that not only am I heartily in favor of faithfully enforcing all our laws, but, further, I am opposed to the repeal of the 18th Amendment or of the Volstead Act.

Our present policy of universal suffrage is the growth of the years, and the recognition of woman's rights was particularly slow. The mere right to vote, not exercised, is useless. As a matter of duty, women as well as men should exercise that right.

The Republican party has welcomed and encouraged this development. The 19th Amendment has been of the utmost importance in assisting our party in the task of good government.

Reduction of Public Debt, Expenses and Taxes

Despite the tremendous sums paid toward reduction of the public debt, the sound financial policy adopted by the Republican party has enabled it to make four reductions in taxes, thereby greatly lightening the tax burden of the American people. In the fiscal year just closed, taxes were cut by more than \$220,000,000. Our party is pledged to a continuation of these sound policies, and to such further reduction of the tax burden as the condition of the Treasury

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Senator Joe T. Robinson
Continued from page 238

The Eighteenth Amendment

There has always been room in the Democratic party for those who differ as to the best means of promoting temperance and of suppressing the traffic in alcoholic beverages. A proposal for changes in the existing national prohibition system, and also a resolution approving the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, were submitted to the Committee on Platform and Resolutions of the Houston convention. Neither was adopted. Both the committee and the convention, after prolonged hearings, recognized the futility of attempting to secure unanimity for either contention. The committee reported, and the convention unanimously adopted, a declaration in the following language:

"Speaking for the national Democracy, this convention pledges the party and its nominees to an honest effort to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

Not a Political Question

The question should not be treated as merely political, but rather as moral and economic. Some claiming to be reformers, have clouded the subject with confusion and misunderstanding. They have discredited the motives of those who display moderation and fairness in public discussions and have questioned the loyalty to the cause of temperance of all who are dissatisfied with present conditions.

President Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act. The integrity of his purpose was not questioned; his good faith was generally conceded.

Can it be said that because Governor Smith believes that, without returning to the old evils of the saloon, temperance and respect for law can be promoted through changes in the existing system, he is a nullificationist and an enemy of the Constitution? Such arguments impeach the intelligence of their authors.

It is certain that only such modifications as meet with the approval of public opinion are possible, no matter who serves as President.

To summarize, the Democratic platform does not commit the party for or against modification. It does pledge the nominees to an honest effort to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws enacted pursuant thereto. Governor Smith has promised his best efforts to enforce prohibition. His personal opinion that the law or the Constitution should be changed to make certain better observance and enforcement, does not affect his disposition or ability to perform that duty.

Merchant Marine

An adequate merchant marine is recognized by the Democratic party as essential to the safety of the nation and the independence of its commerce.

While the necessity for government ships continues, and until they can be transferred under satisfactory conditions for private operation, the service should be kept efficient and should be improved to meet competition with foreign lines and to provide for the expansion of our commerce.

Political Corruption

Honesty in public affairs is of transcendent importance. Corruption is the red signal of decadence.

The Democratic party pledges itself to "rescue the government from those who have betrayed their trust by disgracing it"; and supports its claim to the confidence of the voters by comparing the last eight years of Republican maladministration with the record of our great Democratic President, Woodrow Wilson. During his presidency, to the usual administrative responsibilities were added the duty of carrying

Continued on next page

*Mr. Hoover States His Position**Continued from page 232*

ness and righteousness in government and in business confirm the confidence of the people in their institutions and their laws?

Government must contribute to leadership in answer to these questions. The Government is more than administration; it is power for leadership and cooperation with the forces of business and cultural life in city, town and countryside. The Presidency is more than executive responsibility. It is the inspiring symbol of all that is highest in America's purposes and ideals.

It is vital to the welfare of the United States that the Republican party should continue to administer the Government. It is essential that our party should be continued in organization and in strength in order that it may perpetuate its great principles in our national life.

If elected by my fellow countrymen I shall give the best within me to advance the moral and material welfare of all our people and uphold the traditions of the Republican party so effectively exemplified by Calvin Coolidge.

*The National Conventions**Continued from page 235**Casting the Votes*

When the nominations are made, the vote is taken by calling the roll of the delegations, and the chairman of each announces the vote of his group. According to the theory of the Republican party, each member of a delegation may cast his vote as he pleases, although as a matter of fact the delegations are often instructed by the conventions of the states from which they come. The Democratic party, however, does not recognize the right of the individual to vote as he pleases in the convention. It not only permits the state convention to instruct its delegates, but also authorizes

the majority in each delegation to determine how the entire vote shall be cast—and cast that vote as a unit.

It should be noted, however, that the unit rule is not applied to all state delegations in the Democratic convention. It is left to the states concerned to adopt or reject the principles as they see fit; but if the state does not act in the matter, the delegates may vote as they please.

The Notification

When the convention has chosen its candidates, a separate committee is appointed to convey to each of them a formal notification and the convention adjourns.

*Mr. Smith States His Position**Continued from page 246*

the distributing companies the right to provide fair and reasonable rates to the ultimate consumer and the similar right to insist upon fair and equal distribution of the power. This can be secured only by the absolute retention by the people of the ownership of the power by owning and controlling the site and plant at the place of generation.

It will be the policy of my administration while retaining government ownership and control, to develop a method of operation for Muscle Shoals which will reclaim for the government some fair revenue from the enormous expenditure already made for its development and which is now a complete waste.

*Vice-Presidential Candidates State Their Positions**Continued from page 249**Senator Charles Curtis*

may from time to time permit.

The policies of Calvin Coolidge are those of our party and are expressed in our platform. They are Mr. Hoover's, and they are mine.—*Extracts from speech of acceptance, Topeka, Kans., Aug. 18, 1928.*

Senator Joe T. Robinson

on the greatest war of all times. Numerous committees of investigation created by the opposition after it had secured control of the Congress immediately following the war disclosed no breach of trust, no instance of dishonesty on the part of any Democratic office holder.—*Extracts from speech of acceptance, Hot Springs, Ark., Aug. 30, 1928.*

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